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AN
ANTHOLOGY;
OR
A CHOICE COLLECTION
OF INSTRUCTIVE
FABLES, TALES, DIALOGUES,
LETTERS, CHARACTERS OF EMINENT
MEN, HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND
PHILOSOPHICAL PIECES,
AND SERMONS;



SELECTED FOR THE
IMPROVEMENT OF YOUTH,
FROM THE MOST EMINENT ENGLISH WRITERS;

BY
JOHN FREDERICK SCHILLER.

MENTZ and FRANKFORT,

Printed for J. F. SCHILLER;
and Sold by VARRENTRAPP Junior and
WENNER.

M D C C L X X X V I.

TO
HIS ELECTORAL HIGHNESS
THE MOST REVEREND
FREDERICK CHARLES
JOSEPH,
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF MENTZ,
ARCH-CHANCELLOR AND ELECTOR
OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE,
PRINCE BISHOP OF WORMS, &c.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,



The generous favour with which
YOUR ELECTORAL HIGH-
NESS has hitherto condescended to pa-
tronize my labours, imposes on me the
delightful duty of giving YOUR HIGH-
NESS this public account of their Ten-
dency.

Sensible that every member of hu-
man Society ought in his respective sphe-
re to benefit his fellow - creatures to the
utmost of his power, I have, in my hum-
ble station, endeavoured to render the
performance of my duty in assisting the
stu-

students of the English Language and Literature, subservient to their improvement in point of Taste, of Knowledge of the World and of Mankind, and to the advancement of the sacred interests of Virtue.

For this End, I chose to select, to reprint and to translate some excellent Works of the best English Writers.

The greater part of these Authors have lived and formed themselves in London, that crowded Epitome of the World; where men of every character and from all nations are drawn together by political and commercial affairs, by the charms of Liberty and the pursuit of Knowledge; where weighty interests keep human passions ever fermenting, and intellectual faculties ever active; where a Conflux and Emulation push Geniuses of every kind to obser-

observe and refine one another; and where the Spirit of Observation may study and delineate human nature from every point of view.

Some of these Works I have reprinted and translated entire; some more, by way of Extract. The present Collection contains a number of small Pieces, in the Choice and Arrangement of which I have endeavoured always to lead the Students from the plainest and easiest to more complicated and important subjects, and to keep up their attention by dint of Novelty and Variety of Matter, Dress and Diction.

To whom could I dedicate these labours with a fairer prospect of their acceptance than to the great Prince who to profound and extensive Knowledge and an exquisite Taste joins the noblest Heart,
and

and who has hitherto so generously supported and encouraged my endeavours?

Deign then, MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN, to accept them as an evidence of my lasting gratitude and of that profound Respect, with which I shall ever be,

YOUR ELECTORAL
HIGHNESS'S,

Mentz,

April 10th. 1786.

most obliged and most devoted
humble Servant

JOHN FREDERICK SCHILLER.

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A N
A N T H O L O G Y.

I. *F A B L E S.*

The Afs, the Ape, and the Mole.

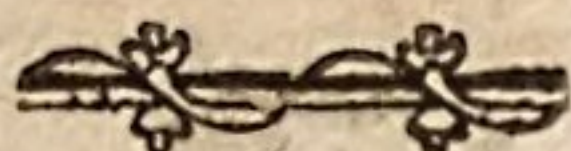
THE Afs found fault that he had no Horns, and the Ape that she had no Tail; hold your Peace, says the Mole, and say no more, for you are both blest'd with Eyes, which I am not.

The Crow and Jug.

A Crow that was dry, sought where to quench her Thirst, and at last found a Jug with some Drink in it, but the Neck was so long and strait, that she could not get her head in; then she thinks with her-self what to do; and at last, says she, if I do but fill the Jug with Stones, the Drink will then rise up to the Brim; so to Work she goes, and puts in Stones, till the Drink rose up to the Top, and then she drank her Fill, and so quench'd her Thirst.

The Boy and Goose that laid Golden Eggs.

A Boy once had a Goose, that laid Eggs of Gold Day by Day, which so puff'd him up with Pride, that, thinks he, I will not wait so long for



the Wealth that is in my Goose, as she will take to lay all the Gold Eggs that are in her; but I will grow rich at once: And so he kill'd her, and ripp'd her up; but, to his great Loss, found he took the wrong Way to come at the Gold he aim'd at; for when the Goose was dead, he did not find but some Seeds, from which more Eggs might have been bred, which for Want of Life and Warmth in the Goose, died with her.

The old Woman and her Maids.

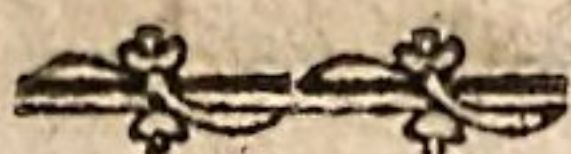
A certain old Woman, having about her a Parcel of idle Maids, would oblige them to rise every Morning at the Cock-crowing. . . . But the Maids looking on this as an Hardship, resolved to put a Stop to this growing Evil, and so cut off the Cock's Head; thinking that they might then lie a-Bed securely, and indulge themselves in their Laziness. . . . But the careful Mistress soon frustrated their Designs, and ordered a Bell to be brought to her, with which she ever after rung them up at Midnight.

The Wolf and Crane.

A Wolf that had kill'd a Lamb, eat him with Haste, and so had a Bone stuck in his Throat, which he could by no Means get out: He prays a Crane to put her long Neck down his Throat, and with her Bill pull up the Bone that stuck by the Way, for which, he said, he would give her a great Gift: The Crane did the Work, and ask'd for her Hire; to whom the Wolf said, Be gone, and think yourself well off, that I did not bite off your head.

The Mouse, the Frog, and the Kite.

A Mouse wag'd war with a Frog, they fought for the Range of the whole Fen. But tho' the Frog
had



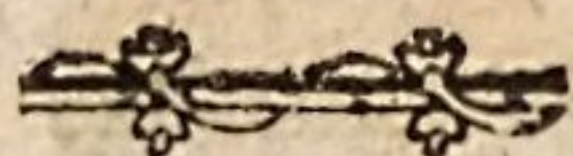
had more Strength, and could leap from the Mouse, yet the Mouse by Craft was too much for the Frog; for he lay hid, and so seiz'd the Frog when she did not think of it. This made the Frog cry out she was used ill, and dared the Mouse to a fair Fight, which the Mouse did yield to; so both took Rush-Spears to tilt with, and while they were in close and fierce Fight, a Kite flew down and took them both up, and tore and eat them.

The old Man that call'd for Death.

A Poor old Man, that was forc'd to go to the Wood to fetch home Sticks, to make a Fire to dress his Food and warm him - self, tired with his Load, threw it off his Back, and call'd out to Death to come and ease him: The grim King came arm'd with his Dart and Scythe, and ask'd him what he call'd him for? At which the old Man says in a Fright, I want you to help me up with my Load, that I may make haste home while it is Day, lest in the Dark I should miss the Path, and so lose my Way, and be forc'd to lie in the Cold all Night.

The Child, the Nurse, and the Wolf.

A cross Child made his Nurse so mad, that to fright him, she bawl'd out and said, that she would give him to the Wolf, if he did not cease his Noise. At the same Time a Wolf that was on the Hunt, came by and heard her; so staid at the Door in hopes of a Meal; but in some Time the Child was still and went to sleep, and the Nurse set her - self to Work, to put her House and her Things to Rights. And the Wolf watch'd so long, that his Maw call'd out loud for Food, so that he could not stay; but with Grief



he left the House, and said, he had been made to hope for Food, but had not got it, nor was like to have it.

The two Frogs.

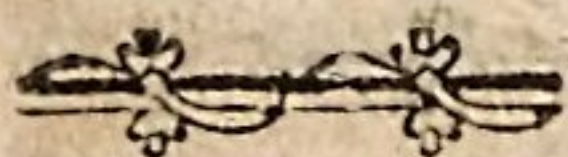
On a hot dry Time of the year, when the Lakes and Ponds were dried up, an old and a young Frog went in Search of some Drink to quench their Thirst. At last they came to a deep Well, and sat on the brink of it. Sir, said the young Frog, to the old one, I have a great Mind to leap into it. See how clear the Spring, is: We may drink of it at our Ease. All this may be true, said the old Frog, and yet I can't be of your Mind, for my Life: For if this Well should dry up too, how should we get out of it?

The Fox at the point of Death.

A Fox worn out with Age, perceives his End drawing near, and calls all his Sons to him; to whom he says, My Sons, my Race is run, my days are at an End, I pray you, take my last Advice; amend your Lives, forsake your Errors, and live honest Lives, that you may die with comfort. To which one of them answer'd, Your Advice is vain. How can we who are by Nature wicked, and brought up under so bad a Master as your-self, ever change our Manners.

The sick Miser and the Angel.

A Rich Miser being sick and near his Death, surveys and reflects on his past Deeds. And calling to Mind, how by Fraud in his Dealings he
had



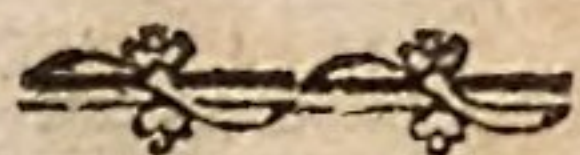
had heap-ed up im-mense Rich-es, re-solves to a-tone for his e-vil Deeds on his Death-bed. He makes his Will, and be-queaths large Sums to be em-ploy'd on pi-ous U-ses, but not a Pen-ny was to be paid 'till after his De-cease. An An-gel ap-pears to him, and tells him, what he gave thus was not alms; be-cause he part-ed with no-thing he could keep: But if he would do good, it must be in his Life-time. The Mi-ser per-plex'd, still grasps his Wealth 'till Death for-ces him to let go his Hold.

The proud Frog.

An Ox gra-sing in a Mea-dow, chan-ced to set his Foot a-mong a Par-cel of young Frogs, and trod one of them to Death. The rest in-form'd their Mo-ther, when she came home, what had hap-pen'd, tell-ing her, that the Beast which did it, was the lar-gest Beast that e-ver they saw in their Lives. What, was it so big? says the old Frog, swell-ing, and blow-ing up her speck-led bel-ly to a great De-gree. O, big-ger by a vast deal, say they. And so big? says she, strain-ing her-self yet more. In-deed, Mam-ma, said they, if you were to burst your-self, you would ne-ver be so big. She strove yet more, and burst her-self in-deed.

The old Hound.

An old Hound, who had been a very good one in his Time, and gi-ven his Ma-ster great Sport and plea-sure in ma-ny a chace; at last, thro' old Age, be-came fee-ble and unfit for ser-vice. Yet, being in the Field, one Day, when the stag, was al-most run down, he hap-pen'd to be the first
a 3 that



that came in with him, and seiz'd him by one of his Haunch-es: but his de-cay'd and bro-ken Teeth not be-ing a-ble to keep their hold, the Deer e-scap'd and threw him quite out; at which his Ma-ster, be-ing ve-ry much vex'd, was going to strike him: but the ho-nest old Dog is said to have bark'd out this Speech: Ah! Do not strike your poor old servant, 'tis not my Heart and good Will, but my Strength and Speed that fail-ed me: If I can't please you now, pray, Sir, don't for-get what I have been.

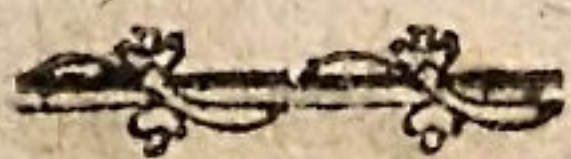
The Horse, and the Ox.

The Horse, ad-orn'd with a rich Bri-dle, and Sad-dle, came thun-dring a-long the Way: and made the Moun-tains e-cho with his neigh-ing. He had not gone far, be-fore he met an Afs, with a hea-vy Bur-den, mo-ving slow-ly on, in the same Track with him-self. He call'd out to him, in a haugh-ty Tone, and threat-en'd to tram-ple him in the Dirt, if he did not break the Way for him. The poor Afs, not da-ring to dis-pute the Mat-ter, got out of his Way, as fast as he could, and let him go by.

Not long af-ter this, the same Horse, in a Bat-tle, hap-pen'd to be shot in the Eye, which made him un-fit for service; so he was stript of his fine Bri-dle and Sad-dle, and sold to a Farm-er. The Afs meet-ing him in this for-lorn State, thought that now it was his Turn to in-sult; and so, says he, Hey day! Friend, is it you? Well, I al-ways believ'd that Pride of yours would, one Day, have a Fall.

The Horse and the Lion.

A Li-on, see-ing a fine plump Nag, had a great Mind to eat a bit of him, but knew not which Way to get



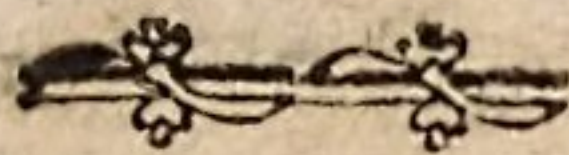
get him in-to his pow-er. At last, he gave out that he was a Doc-tor of Phy-sic; who, by his long Prac-tice in fo-reign Coun-tries, had made him-self a-ble to cure any Sort of Ill-ness; ho-ping he should catch the Hor-se: But the Hor-se, who smok'd the Mat-ter, was re-solv'd to be e-ven with him. Sir, says he, since you are so able a Doc-tor, pray, give me your Ad-vice. I have a Thorn in my Foot, which has quite lam'd me, and gives me great Pain.

The Li-on a-greed to it, and de-sir'd he might see the Foot. Up-on which the Hor-se lift-ed up one of his hind legs, and while the Li-on was look-ing at his Foot, gave him such a Kick in the Face, as quite stun-ned him, and left him sprawl-ing up-on the Ground. In the mean Time the Hor-se trot-ted a-way, neigh-ing, and laugh-ing at the Suc-cess of the Trick, by which he mar-red the Pur-pose of one who de-sign'd to have trick-ed him out of his Life.

The Farmer and his Sons.

A certain Farmer lying at the point of Death, and being willing, that his Sons should pursue the same Course of Life he himself had been engag'd in, call'd them to his Bedside, and spoke to this Effect: All I have to bequeath to you, Sons, is my Farm and my Vineyard, of which I make you joint Heirs. But I charge you, not to let it go out of your Hands; for, if I have any Treasure besides, it lies bury'd some where in the Ground, with-in a Foot of the Surface.

This made the Sons conclude, that he talk'd of Money, which he had hid there: So, after their Father's Death, with vast Pains and Care, they dug up the Farm and Vineyard. From whence it came to pass, that tho' they missed the Treasure, which



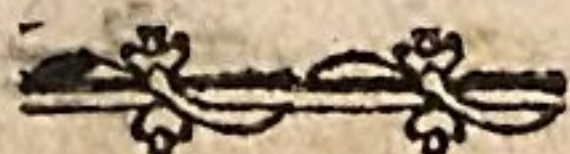
they thought to find, the Ground by being so well stirred and loosen'd, produced so fine a Crop of all that was sowed in it, as proved a real Treasure.

The Cock and the Fox.

A Cock being perch'd among the Branches of a lofty Tree, crowed aloud, so that a Fox, that was in quest of his prey, came to the Place. But Reynard, finding he could not come at the Cock, by reason of the Height of the Tree, had Recourse to Cunning, in order to decoy him down; so approach'd the Tree. Cousin, says he, I am glad to see you; but, at the same time, I must tell you, I am not easy at the Place which won't let me pay my Respects to you in a better Manner. Pray, dear Cousin, come down and let me embrace you. Indeed, Cousin, said the Cock, to tell you the Truth, I don't think it safe to venture myself upon the Ground; for though I am convinced how much you are my Friend, yet I may have the ill Luck to fall into the Clutches of some other Beast; and what would become of me then? O dear! says Reynard, don't you know that Peace has been lately proclaim'd between all Kinds of Birds and Beasts, and that we are, for the future, to live in the utmost Love.

All this while the Cock seemed to stretch out his Neck, as if he saw something at a Distance. Cousin, says the Fox, what's that you are looking at so much? Why, says the Cock, I think I see a Pack of Hounds yonder, a little Way off. O then, says the Fox, your humble Servant, I must be gone. Nay, pray Cousin, don't go, says the Cock, I am just a coming down; sure you are not afraid of Dogs in this time of Peace. No, no, says he; but ten to one whether they have heard it proclaim'd.

The



The Fox and the Wolf.

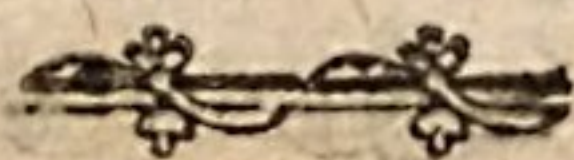
A Fox having tumbled by Chance into a Well, had been casting about a long while, to no Purpose, how he should get out again; when at last a Wolf came to the Place, and wanting to drink, asked Reynard, whether the Water was good: Good! says he, ay so sweet, that I am afraid I have forfeit-ed myself, I have drunk so much of it.

The Wolf, upon this, without any more ado, leapt in; and the Fox, taking the Advantage of his Back, by the Assistance of it, as nimbly leapt out; leaving the poor Wolf at the Bottom of the Well, to shift for himself.

The Fox and the Stork.

The Fox in-vi-ted the Stork to Dinner; and being dis-po-sed to divert himself at the Expence of his Guest, pro-vi-ded nothing, to en-ter-tain him, but a Soup in a shallow Dish. This himself could lap up with a great deal of Ease; but the Stork, who could but just dip in the Point of his Bill, was not a bit the better all the while: How-e-ver, in a few Days after, he re-turn-ed the com-pli-ment, and in-vi-ted the Fox; but suf-fer-ed nothing to be brought to Table but some minced Meat in a Glass-Jar, the Neck of which was so deep and so narrow, that tho' the Stork, with his long Bill, made a Shift to fill his Belly, all that the Fox, who was very hungry, could do, was to lick the Brims, as the Stork flab-ber-ed them with his eating.

Reynard was hear-ti-ly vexed at first; but when he came to take his Leave, owned frankly, that he had been used as he de-serv-ed, and that he had no



reason to take any Treatment ill, of which himself had set the Ex-ample.

The Frogs and the fighting Bulls.

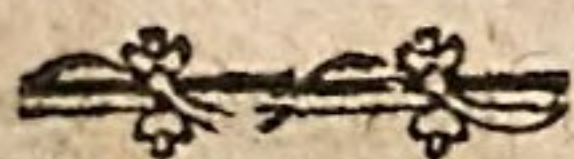
A Frog one Day, peeping out of the Lake, and looking about him, saw two Bulls fighting at some Distance off in the Meadow; and calling to one of his Ac-quaint-ame, Look, says he, what dreadful Work there is yonder! Dear Sirs, what will become of us?

Why prithee, says t'other, don't frighten yourself so about nothing; how can their Quarrels affect us? They are of a different Kind and Way of living, and are at present only con-tend-ing which shall be Master of the Herd.

That's true, replies the first, their Qua-li-ty and Sta-ti-on of Life is, to all Ap-pear-ance, different enough from ours: But, as one of them will cer-tain-ly get the better, he that is worsted, being beat out of the Meadow, will take Refuge here in the Marshes, and may possi-bly tread he Guts of some of us. So you see we are more nearly concern-ed in this Dispute of theirs, than at first you were aware of.

The Lion and the Mouse.

A Lion faint with Heat, and weary with hunting, was lain down to take his Repose under the spreading Boughs of a thick shady Oak. It happened that, while he slept, a Com-pa-ny of scrambling Mice ran over his Back, and waked him. Upon which, starting up, he clapt his Paw upon one of them, and was just going to put it to Death, when the little Sup-pli-ant im-plo-red his Mercy
in



In a very moving Manner; begging him not to stain his noble Cha-rac-ter with the blood of so small a Beast.

The Lion con-si-der'd the Matter, and thought proper to do as he was de-fi-red; so he re-lea-sed his little trembling Pri-son-er. Not long after tra-ver-sing the Forest in pursuit of his Prey, he chanced to run into the Toils of the Hunters; from whence not able to dis-en-gage himself, he set up a most hi-de-ous and loud Roar.

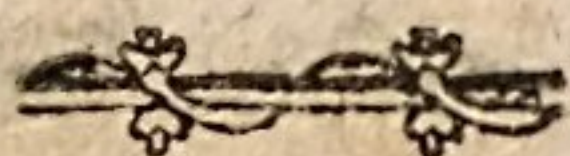
The Mouse hearing the Voice, and know-ing it to be the Lion's, ran to the Place, and bid him fear nothing, for that he was his Friend, Then straight he fell to Work, and, with his little sharp Teeth, gnawing a-sun-der the Knots and Fastnings of the Toils, set the royal Brute at Liberty.

Mercury and the honest Woodman.

A Man was felling a Tree on a Bank of a River, and by Chance let his Hatchet slip out of his Hand, which dropt into the Water and sunk to the Bottom. Being therefore in great Distress for the Loss of his Tool, he sat down and bemoaned himself most bitterly. Upon this Mercury appeared to him, and being informed of the Cause of his Complaint, dived to the Bottom of the River, and coming up again, shewed the Man a golden Hatchet, demanding if that was his? He denied that it was.

Upon which Mercury dived a second Time, and brought up a Silver one. The Man refused it, alledging likewise, that this was not his. He dived a third Time, and fetched up the same Hatchet the Man had lost; upon Sight of which, the poor Wretch was overjoy'd, and took it with Thankfulness.

Mercury



Mercury was so pleased with the Fellow's Honesty, that he gave him the other two into the Bargain, as a reward for his just dealing. The Man goes to some other Men that were near that Place, and giving them an Account of what had happened, one of them went presently to the River's Side, and let his Hatchet fall on Purpose into the Stream. Then sitting down upon the Bank, he fell a weeping and lamenting, as if he had been really afflicted. Mercury appeared as before, and diving, brought him up a golden Hatchet, asking if that was the Hatchet he lost? Transported at the Sight of the precious Metal, he answered, yes; and went to snatch it greedily. But Mercury detesting his Impudence, not only refused to give him that, but would not so much as let him have his own Hatchet again.

A Fox and Grapes.

A liquorish Fox stood gaping under a Vine, and licking his Lips at a beautiful Cluster of Grapes he had spy'd out there; he fetched a hundred Leaps at it, till at last, when he found there was no Good to be done, Hang'em, says he, they are as sour as Crabs: And so away he went.

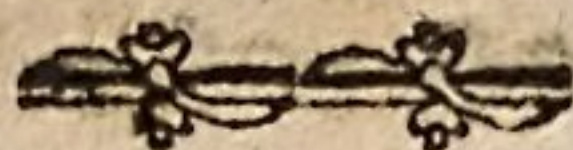
The old Lion.

A Lion worn out with old Age, lay fetching his last Gasp, and a-go-ni-zing in the convulsive struggles of Death. Upon which Oc-ca-si-on, several of the Beasts, who had formerly been Sufferers by him, came and reveng'd themselves upon him. The Boar, with his mighty Tusks drove at him in a Stroke that glanc'd like Lightning: And the Bull gor'd him with his violent Horns, which, when

when the Ass saw they might do without any danger, he too came up, and threw his heels in the Lion's Face. Upon which, the poor old expiring Tyrant uttered these Words with his dying Groan: Alas! how grievous is it to suffer insults, even from the brave and the valiant! but to be spurn'd by so base a Creature as this is, who is the Disgrace of Nature, is worse than dying ten thousand Deaths.

The old Man and his Sons.

An old Man had many Sons, who were often falling out with one another. When the Father had exerted his Au-tho-ri-ty, and used other Means in order to reconcile them, and all to no Purpose, at last he had Recourse to this Ex-pe-di-ent: he order'd his Sons to be called before him, and a short Bundle of Rods to be brought; and then commanded them, one by one, to try if, with all their Might and Strength, they could any of them break it. They all try'd, but to no Purpose: for the Rods being closely and compactly bound up together, it was im-pos-si-ble for the Force of Man to do it. After this, the Father ordered the Bundles to be unty'd, and gave a single Rod to each of his Sons, at the same time bidding him try to break it: Which when each did, with all the Ease in the World, the Father addressed himself to them to this Effect; O my Sons, behold the Power of Unity! For if you, in like Manner, would but keep yourselves strictly conjoined in the Bonds of Friendship, it could not be in the Power of any Mortal to hurt you; but when once the Ties of brotherly Af-fec-ti-on are dissolved, how soon do you fall to Pieces, and are liable to be violated by every in-ju-ri-ous Hand that assaults you!



The Husband-Man and the Stork.

The Husbandman pitched a Net in his Fields to take the Cranes and Geese, which came to feed upon the new-mown Corn. Ac-cord-ing-ly he took several, both Cranes and Geese; and among them a Stork, who pleaded hard for this Life, and, among other A-po-lo-gies which he made, alledged that he was neither Goose nor Crane, but a poor harmless Stork, who performed his Duty to his Parents to all Intents and Purposes, feeding them when they were old, and, as Oc-ca-si-on required, carrying them from Place to Place upon his Back. All this may be true, replies the Husbandman; but as I have taken you in bad Company, and in the same Crime, you must expect to suffer the same Punishment.

The Beasts in Council assembled to elect a King.

The Lion being dead, all the Birds and Beasts flocked to his Den, to condole with the Lioness, his Royal Relict, who made the Mountains and the Forests resound with her loud Cries.

After the usual Compliments, they proceeded to the Election of a King; the Crown of the deceased Monarch being placed in the Midst of the Assembly. His Heir apparent was too young and weak to obtain the Royal Dignity, to which so many Creatures stronger than himself put in their Claim.

Let us grow up a little, said his Highness, and then you shall find that I can fill the Throne, and make my Subjects tremble in my turn. In the mean Time I'll study the heroic Actions of my Father, in hopes that one Day I may equal him in Glory.

For



For my Part, said the Leopard; I insist on my Right to the Crown, as I resemble the late King more than any other Candidate whomsoever.

I, on the other hand, cry'd the Bear, will maintain that I had Injustice done me, when his late Majesty was preferred before me: I am as strong, as undaunted, and as blood-thirsty as he was; besides, I am Master of an Art, which he could never attain to, I mean, that of climbing Trees.

I appeal, said the Elephant, to the judgment of this august Assembly, if any one here present, can, with any Colour, boast of being so tall, portly, so robust, or sedate as I am.

I am the noblest, the most beautiful Creature of you all, said the Horse.

And I the most political, said the Fox.

And I the swiftest in running, said the Stag.

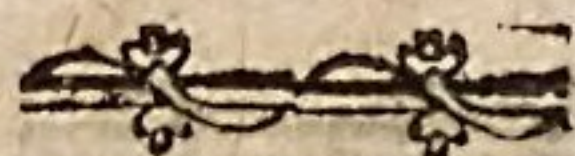
Where will you find, said the Monkey, a King more agreeable, more ingenious, and more entertaining than I am. I should each Day divert my Subjects: Besides, I am the Picture of Man, who is the Lord of the Universe.

The Parrot interrupting him, made his Speech: Since you boast of your Likeness to Man, I think I may, with much more Justice.

All your Resemblance of him consists in your ugly Phiz, and some ridiculous Grimaces; but I can talk like a Man, and imitate his Speech, the Indication of his Reason, and his greatest Ornament.

Hold your cursed Clack, replied the Monkey: You talk, it is true, but not like Man, you chatter the same Thing over and over again, without understanding one single Word that you say.

The whole Assembly laughed at these two wretched Imitators of Mankind, and conferred the Crown on the Elephant, as he was both strong and
wife,



wife, and not only free from the cruel Temper of the Beasts of Prey, but from the Vanity and Self-conceit, which too many are tainted with, of always seeming to be what in reality they are not.

The Shepherd's Boy and the Husbandmen.

As a Boy was looking after some Sheep in a Meadow, he would oftentimes, in jest, cry out, that the Wolf was among them; which made the neighbouring Husbandmen come out to his Assistance, and then he would laugh at them, for being such Fools as to come when he did not want them.

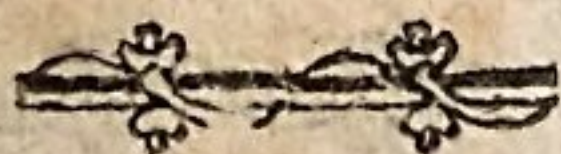
At last the Wolf came in earnest; and the Boy began to cry out as usual; but the Husbandmen, thinking that he only wanted to delude them again, never troubled themselves about him, but let him cry on; and so the Sheep became an easy Prey to the Wolf, and were destroyed.

The Dove and the Bee.

A thirsty Bee came to a Fountain to drink; but being to hasty, fell in.

A Dove in a neighbouring Tree seeing the Bee struggle for Life, set herself upon a Branch, that hung over the Fountain, and by her Weight, brought it to the Water, that the Bee might get upon it; and so saved her Life.

Some short time after, a Snare was laid for the Dove; and while the Fowler was drawing the Net together, the Bee (who at that Instant was flying over) seeing her Deliverer in such Danger, stung the Fowler so severely, that he was obliged to let the Net go again, by which Means the Dove escaped.



Jupiter and the Countryman.

Jupiter, to reward the piety of a certain Countryman, promised to give him whatever he would ask: the Countryman desired that he might have the management of the weather in his own estate: he obtained his request, and immediately distributed rain, snow, and sunshine among his several fields, as he thought the nature of the soil required. At the end of the year, when he expected to see a more than ordinary crop, his harvest fell infinitely short of that of his neighbours; upon which he desired Jupiter to take the weather again into his own hands, or that otherwise he should utterly ruin himself.

The Dragon and two Foxes.

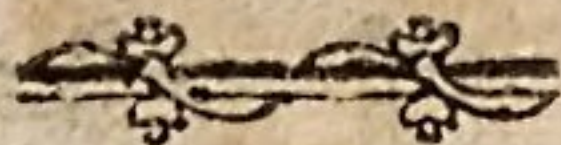
A Dragon sat brooding over an immense treasure in a deep cave; he never slept by night or day, in order to secure it.

Two Foxes, artful sycophants, and rogues by profession, insinuated themselves into his favour by their fulsome flatteries. They were his bosom-friends.

They who are the most courteous and obliging, are not always the most sincere. They made their addresses to him with the utmost submission and respect; they admired all his idle fancies, gave into all his sentiments, and laugh'd in their sleeves at their credulous cully.

At length he one day fell asleep between his confidents: they strangled him, and took possession of his treasure.

The plunder was to be divided; a very tender point, and not easily to be adjusted; for two villains



agree in nothing but the perpetration of their crimes.

One of them began to preach: Of what service, said he, will all this money be to us? a leveret had been a much more agreeable booty: We cannot make a meal of these pistoles; they are too hard of digestion. Mankind are mere fools to doat on such imaginary riches. Let us not be such silly thoughtless creatures as they are.

The other pretended that these reflections had made a strong impression on him, and assured him, that he would be contented for the future to lead a philosophic life, and like Bias carry all he had about him.

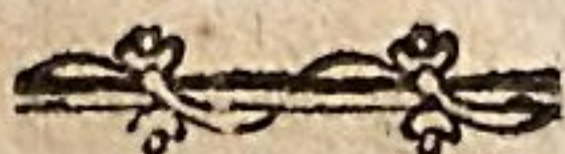
Both seemed ready to abandon their ill-gotten treasure: but both lay in ambush, and tore each other to pieces.

One of them, as he was expiring, said to the other, who was as mortally wounded as himself: What would you have done with all that Gold? The very same as you proposed to have done with it, reply'd the other.

A traveller being informed of their quarrel, told them, they were fools. And so are the whole race of mankind, said one of the Foxes. You can feed upon gold no more than we, and yet you murder one another for the sake of it.

We Foxes were wise enough, at least till now, to look on money as a useless thing. That which you have introduced amongst you as a convenience, is your misfortune. You part with a substantial good, only to pursue an empty shadow.





The Two Foxes.

One night two Foxes enter'd by Stealth into a hen-roost; they kill'd the cock, the hens, and the chickens: After this slaughter, they began to devour their prey.

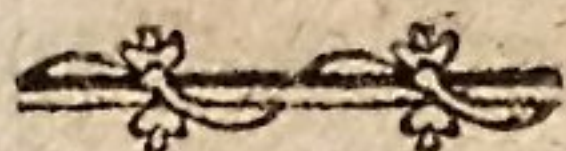
One, that was young and thoughtless, proposed to eat them all at once: The other, that was old and avaritious, was for making a reserve for another day.

Child, said the old one, Experience has made me wise; I have seen a great deal of the world in my time. Let us not lavishly consume our whole stock at once: we have met with good success: we have found a treasure: and ought to be cautious how we squander it away.

The young one replied, I'm resolved to indulge myself whilst it is before me, and satiate my appetite for a whole week; for as to your notion of returning hither; 'tis a jest. To-morrow won't do at all; the Owner, to revenge the death of his chickens, would knock us both on the head.

After his reply, each of them acts as he thinks proper. The young one eats till he bursts, and has scarce strength enough to crawl to his kennel before he dies. The old one, who thought it much more prudent to govern his appetite, and be frugal, went the next day to his hoard, and was murdered by the farmer.

Thus every age has its darling vice: the young are sanguine, and insatiable in their enjoyments; the old are incorrigible in their avarice.



The Wolf and the Lamb.

A Flock of Sheep were grazing secure from harm, in an enclosure; the dogs were all asleep, and their master was playing under a shady elm on his rural pipe with his companions.

A wolf, that was half-starved, came to the fence, to take a view of 'em thro' the chinks.

A Lamb, that was unexperienced, and had never been abroad, entered into conversation with him.

What is it you want here, said he to Isengrim?

Some of this fresh tender grass, reply'd the wolf. You are sensible, that nothing is more agreeable than to appease one's hunger in a verdant meadow, embroider'd with flowers, and slake one's thirst at a transparent fountain. I find plenty here both of the one and the other: what can any one desire more? For my part, I love Philosophy, which teaches us to rest contented with a little.

Is it then true, reply'd the Lamb; that you abstain from the flesh of beasts; and that a little grass will satisfy you? If so, let us live like brothers, and graze together.

Immediately the Lamb leap'd over the inclosure into the meadow, where the grave Philosopher tore him in pieces, and at once devour'd him.

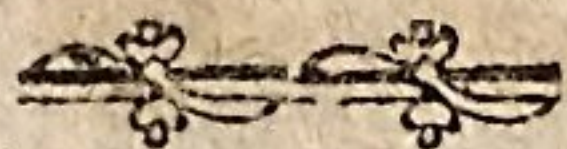
Always mistrust the smooth tongues of those who boast of their own virtue. Form your judgment by their actions, and not by their speeches.

The Cat and the Rabbits.

A Cat with affected modesty, once enter'd into a Warren plentifully stock'd with Rabbits.

Immediately the whole Republick being alarmed, flew for refuge to their respective burrows.

As



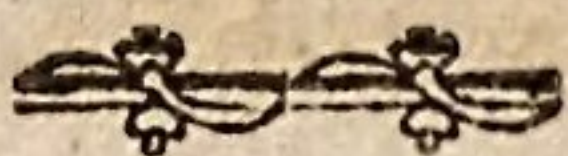
As this foreigner was leering round about him at a small distance from one of their little cells, the Deputies of the state, who had observed his tremendous claws, parly'd with him at an Avenue of their Warren that was extremely narrow, and demanded the intention of his visit.

He declared in the most submissive tone, that all he aimed at was to learn the constitutions of their Republick. That as he was a Professor of Philosophy, he travelled all over the habitable world to inform himself of the various customs of the whole brute creation.

The thoughtless, credulous Deputies return'd with the following report to their fellow-members; that this venerable stranger, by his modest deportment and majestick fur-gown, appeared, in their opinion, to be a sober inoffensive pacifick Philosopher, who travelled from one country to another with the laudable view only of improving his judgment; that he had visited several foreign Courts, and seen a thousand surprising curiosities; that 'twas an inexpressible pleasure to listen to his discourse: that he had no manner of inclination to rabbits-flesh; since, like an orthodox Bramin, he believed the Metempsychosis, and never tasted the least Morfel of any one living creature whatsoever.

This fine character of him made a deep impression on the whole assembly.

An old statesman of theirs, who had long been their Oracle, represented to them, but in vain, how much he suspected this grave Philosopher. Notwithstanding all his dissuasions, they ventur'd in a body to pay their respects to the Bramin, who upon the first salutation strangled seven or eight of these unguarded wretches.



The surviving members recovered their burrows, terrify'd to the last degree, and perfectly ashamed of their ill conduct.

Then Grimalkin returned to the mouth of the same burrow, protesting, in the most affectionate terms, that he had committed this outrage with the utmost reluctance; in his extreme necessity; that from thenceforward, he would live upon other creatures, and would make an eternal alliance with them.

Immediately the Rabbits entered upon a treaty with him; but were cautious, however, of coming within the reach of his paws: The negotiation was carried on, and they kept him at a bay.

In the mean time one of their nimblest members slips out backwards, and inform'd a neighbouring shepherd, who took delight in catching their young ones as they were munching the Juniper-berries, of the unhappy state of their case.

The shepherd, highly provoked at the Cat for his hostile treatment of so valuable a body, runs to the burrows: he soon espy'd the Cat, intent on nothing but his prey; he wounds him with an arrow, and Pufs, as he lay gasping for breath, thus made his dying speech:

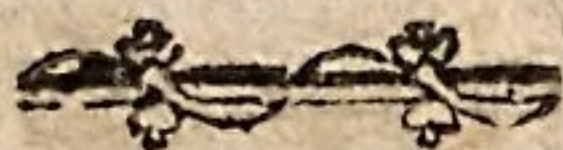
He who has once proved perfidious, is never credited again; he is detested, feared, and at last undone by his own wicked devices.

The Bee and the Fly.

One day a Bee observed a Fly that settled near her hive.

What business hast thou there, said she to him, in an angry tone? How darest thou, vile animal, approach us Queens of the air?

You



You have reason, said the Fly coldly, to be thus disgusted: None but fools would keep company with such captious creatures as you are.

No people are wiser than we, said the Bee: We have the most wholesome laws, and no Republick is so well regulated as ours. We suck nothing but the most odoriferous flowers; the honey we make is as delicious as Nectar. Get out of my sight, you impertinent varlet, who do nothing but buzz about, and subsist in nothing but filth and nastiness.

We live as well as we can, reply'd the Fly: Poverty is no crime: but passion is a great one: Your honey indeed is sweet, but your heart's as bitter as gall: You are wise enough with respect to your making laws, but your constitutions are too sanguine. That spleen which you vent against your enemies, proves your own ruin, and you feel the fatal effects of your foolish resentment, more than they do.

It is much better to have less shining qualities with prudence and moderation.

The Dog and Shadow.

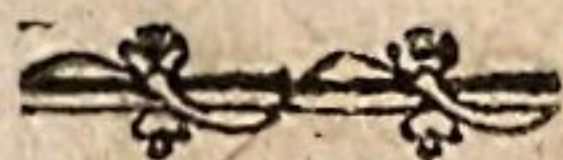
A Dog, who was crossing a rivulet with a piece of flesh in his mouth, perceived his shadow in the Water, which he mistook for another Dog with another piece of flesh. To this he knew he had no right; and yet he could not forbear catching at it: but instead of getting a new prize, he dropped that which he possessed, into the Water. He saw the smooth surface break into many waves, and the Dog whom he had attempted to injure, disappear. He perceived at once his loss, his folly, and his fault: and in the anguish of regret cried out:



„How righteous and how wise are the Gods! Since
 „whatever seduces to evil, though but a Shadow,
 „becomes the instrument of punishment.“

The Traveller and the Adder.

A Traveller passing through a thicket, and seeing a few sparks of fire, which some passengers had kindled as they went that way before, made up to it. On a sudden the sparks caught hold of a bush, in the midst of which lay an adder, and set it in flames. The adder intreated the traveller's assistance, who tying a bag to the end of his staff, reached it, and drew him out: he then bade him go where he pleased, but never more be hurtful to men, since he owed his life to a man's compassion. The adder, however, prepared to sting him; and when he expostulated how unjust it was to retaliate good with evil, I shall do no more (said the adder) than what you men practise every day, whose custom it is to requite benefits with ingratitude. If you can deny this truth, let us refer it to the first we meet. "The man consented; and seeing a tree, put the question to it, in what manner a good turn was to be recompensed? "If you mean according to the usage of men, (replied the tree) by its contrary. I have been standing here these hundred years to protect them from the scorching sun, and in requital they have cut down my branches, and are going to saw my body into planks." Upon this, the adder insulting the man, he appealed to a second evidence; which was granted, and immediately they met a cow. The same demand was made, and much the same answer given, that among men it was certainly so. "I know it (said the cow) by woful experience: for I have served a man this long
 time

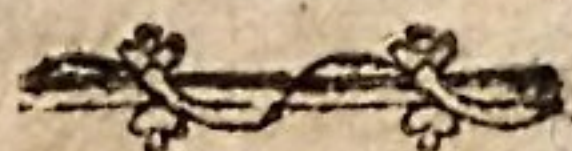


time with milk, butter and cheese, and brought him besides a calf every year: but now I am old, he turns me into this pasture with a design to sell me to a butcher, who will shortly make an end of me." The traveller upon this, stood confounded; but desired, of courtesy, one trial more, to be finally judged by the next beast they should meet. This happened to be a fox, who, upon hearing the story in all its circumstances, could not be persuaded it was possible for the adder to enter into so narrow a bag. The adder, to convince him, went in again: when the fox told the man he had now his enemy in his power; and with that he fastened the bag, and crushed him to pieces.

Labour, Health, and Contentment.

Labour, the offspring of Want, and the mother of Health and Contentment, lived with her two daughters in a little cottage, by the side of a hill, at a great distance from town. They were totally unacquainted with the Great, and had kept no better company than the neighbouring villagers; but having a desire of seeing the world, they forsook their companions and habitation, and determined to travel. Labour went soberly along the road with Health on her right hand, who, by the sprightliness of her conversation, and songs of chearfulness and joy, softened the toils of the way; while Contentment went smiling on the left, supporting the steps of her mother, and by her perpetual good humour increasing the vivacity of her sister.

In this manner they travelled over forests and through towns and villages, till at last they arrived at the capital of the kingdom. At their entrance into the great city, the mother conjured her daughters,



never to lose sight of her; for it was the will of Jupiter, she said, that their separation should be attended with the ruin of all three: but Health was of too gay a disposition to regard the counsels of Labour: she suffered herself to be debauched by Intemperance, and at last died in child-birth of Disease. Contentment in the absence of her sister, gave herself up to the enticements of Sloth, and was never heard of after: while Labour, who could have no enjoyment without her daughters, went every where in search of them, till she was at last seized by Lassitude in her way, and died in misery.

The Man and the Lion.

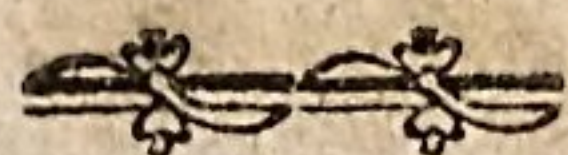
A Man walking with a Lion, shewed him, in the ostentation of human superiority, a Sign of a Man killing a Lion. Upon which the Lion said very justly, "We Lions are none of us Painters, else we could show a hundred Men killed by Lions, for one Lion killed by a Man.

The Children and Frogs.

A company of waggish Boys were watching Frogs at the Side of a Pond; and as any of them put up their heads, they pelted them down again with Stones. . . . Children, say'd one of the Frogs, you never consider that though this may be Play to You, 'tis Death to us.

The Drop of Water.

A Drop of Water fell out of a Cloud into the Sea, and finding itself lost in such an Immensity of fluid Matter, broke out into the following Reflexion:
 „Alas!



„Alas! What an insignificant Creature am I in this
„prodigious Ocean of Waters! My Existence is of
„no Concern to the Universe: I am reduced to a
„Kind of Nothing, and am less than the least of the
„Works of God.” It so happened that an Oyster
which lay in the Neighbourhood of this Drop, chanced to gape and swallow it up in the Midst of this its humble soliloquy. The Drop lay a great while hardening in the shell, until by Degree it was ripened into a Pearl, which falling into the Hands of a Diver. after a long Series of Adventures, is at present that famous Pearl which is fixed on the Top of the Persian Diadem.

The old Man, the Boy, and the Afs.

An old Man and a little Boy were driving an Afs to the next Market to sell. What a Fool is this Fellow, (says a Man upon the Road) to be trudging it on Foot with his Son, that his Afs may go light!

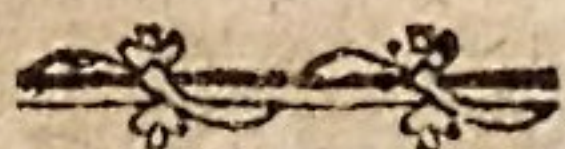
The old Man, hearing this, set his Boy upon the Afs, and went whistling by the Side of him. . . Why, Sirrah! (cries a second Man to the Boy) is it fit for you to be riding, while your poor old Father is walking on Foot?

The Father, upon this Rebuke, took down his Boy from the Afs, and mounted himself. . . . Do You see, (says a third) how the lazy old Knave rides along upon his Beast, while his poor little Boy is almost crippled with walking?

The old Man no sooner heard this, than he took up his Son behind him.

Pray, honest Friend, (says a Fourth) is that Afs your own? Yes, says the Man. One would not have thought so, replied the other, by Your loading him so unmercifully. You and your Son are better able to carry the poor Beast, than he You.

Any



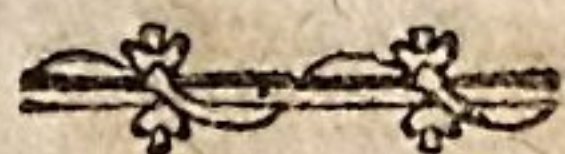
Any thing to please, says the Owner; and alighting with his Son, they tied up the Legs of the Afs together, and by the Help of a Pole endeavoured to carry him upon their Shoulders over the Bridge that led to the Town.

This was so entertaining a Sight, that the People ran in Crowds to laugh at it: till the Afs, conceiving a Dislike to the Over-complaisance of his Master, burst asunder the Cords that tied him, slipped from the Pole, and tumbled into the River.

The poor old Man made the best of his Way home, ashamed and vexed that by endeavouring to please Every Body, he had pleased no Body, and lost his Afs into the Bargain.

The Sultan and his Visier.

Sultan Mahmoud, by his perpetual Wars abroad, and his Tyranny at home, had filled his Dominion with Ruin and Desolation, and half unpeopled the Persian Empire. The Visier to this great Sultan, (whether an Humourist or an Enthusiast, we are not informed) pretended to have learned of a certain Dervise to understand the Language of Birds, so that there was not a Bird that could open his Mouth, but the Visier knew what it was he said. As he was one Evening with the Emperor, on their Return from hunting, they saw a Couple of Owls upon a Tree that grew near an old Wall, out of a Heap of Rubbish. "I would fain know," says the Sultan, "what those two Owls are saying to one another; listen to their discourse, and give me an Account of it." The Visier approached the Tree, pretending to be very attentive to the two Owls. Upon his Return to the Sultan, "Sir," says he, "I have heard part of their Conversation, but dare
,, not



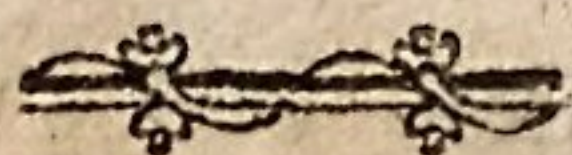
„not tell you what it is.” The Sultan would not be satisfied with such an Answer, but forced him to repeat Word for Word every thing the Owls had said. “You must know then,” said the Visier, that „one of these Owls has a Son, and the other a „Daughter, between whom they are now upon a „Treaty of Marriage. The Father of the Son said „to the Father of the Daughter, in my hearing, „Brother, I consent to this Marriage, provided you „will settle upon your Daughter fifty ruined Villages for her Portion. To which the Father of the „Daughter replied, Instead of fifty, I will give „her fivehundred, if you please. God grant a long „Life to Sultan Mahmoud; whilst he reigns over „us, we shall never want ruined Villages.”

The Sultan was so touched with the Fable, that he rebuilt the Towns and Villages which had been destroyed, and from that Time forward consulted the Good of his People.

Modesty and Assurance.

Modesty, the Daughter of Knowledge, and Assurance, the Offspring of Ignorance, met accidentally upon the Road; and as both had a long Way to go, and had experienced from former Hardships, that they were alike unqualified to pursue their Journey alone, they agreed, notwithstanding the Opposition in their Natures, to lay aside all Animosities, and, for their mutual Advantage, to travel together. It was in a Country where there were no inns for entertainment; so that to their own address, and to the hospitality of the inhabitants, they were continually to be obliged for provision and lodging.

Assurance had never failed getting admittance to the houses of the Great; but it had frequently been

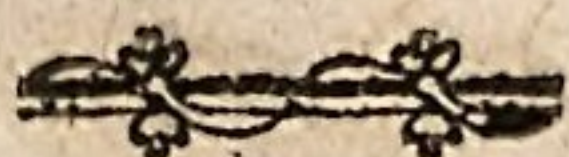


been her misfortune to be turned out of doors, at a time when she was promising herself an elegant entertainment, or a bed of down to rest upon. Modesty had been excluded from all such houses, and compelled to take shelter in the cottages of the poor; where, though she had leave to continue as long as she pleased, a truss of straw had been her usual bed, and roots or the coarsest provision, her constant repast. But as both, by this accidental meeting, were become friends and fellow-travellers, they entertained hopes of assisting each other, and of shortening the way by dividing the cares of it.

Assurance, who was dressed lightly in a summer silk and short petticoats, and who had something commanding in her voice and presence, found the same easy access as before to the castles and palaces upon the way; while Modesty, who followed her in a russet gown, speaking low, and casting her eyes upon the ground, was as usual pushed back by the porter at the gate, till introduced by her companion; whose fashionable appearance and familiar address got admission for both.

And now, by the endeavours of each to support the other, their difficulties vanished, and they saw themselves the favourites of all companies, and the parties of their pleasures, festivals and amusements. The sallies of Assurance were continually checked by the delicacy of Modesty; and the blushes of Modesty were frequently relieved by the vivacity of Assurance; who, though she was sometimes detected at her old pranks, which always put her companion out of countenance, was yet so awed by her presence, as to stop short of offence.

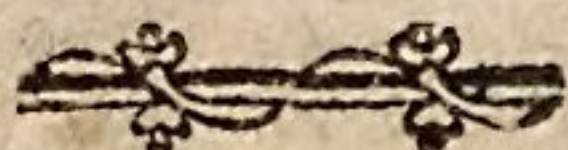
Thus in the company of Modesty, Assurance gained that reception and esteem, which she had vainly hoped for in her absence; while Modesty by means



means of her new acquaintance, kept the best company, feasted upon delicacies, and slept in the chambers of state. Assurance, indeed, had in one particular the ascendancy over her companion: for if any one asked Modesty whose daughter she was, she blushed and made no answer; while Assurance took the advantage of her silence, and imposed herself upon the world as the offspring of Knowledge.

In this manner did the travellers pursue their journey; Assurance taking the lead through the great towns and cities, and apologizing for the rusticity of her companion; while Modesty went foremost through the villages and hamlets, and excused the odd behaviour of Assurance, by presenting her as a courtier.

It happened one day, after having measured a tedious length of road, that they came to a narrow river, which by a hasty swell had washed away the bridge that was built over it. As they stood upon the bank, casting their eyes upon the opposite shore, they saw at a little distance a magnificent castle, and a crowd of people inviting them to come over. Assurance, who stopp'd at nothing, throwing aside the covering from her limbs, plunged almost naked into the stream, and swam safely to the other side. Modesty, offended at the indecency of her companion, and diffident of her own strength, would have declined the danger; but being urged by Assurance, and derided for her cowardice by the people on the other side, she unfortunately ventured beyond her depth, and oppressed by her fears, as well as entangled by her cloaths, which were bound tightly about her, immediately disappeared, and was driven by the current none knows whither. It is said indeed, that she was afterwards taken up alive by a fisherman upon the English coast, and that
shortly



shortly she will be brought to this metropolis, and shewn to the curious of both sexes with the surprising Oronuto Savage, and the wonderful Panther-Mare.

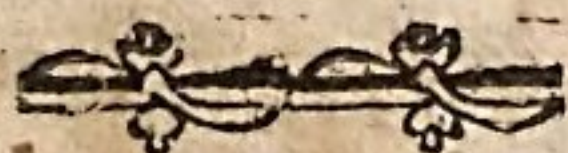
Assurance, not in the least daunted, pursued her journey alone: and though not altogether as successfully as with her companion, yet having, learnt in particular companies, and upon particular occasions, to assume the air and manner of Modesty, she was received kindly at every house; and at last arriving at the end of her travels, she became a very great lady, and rose to be first maid of honour to the queen of the country.



II. T A L E S.

Jupiter's Tuns.

When Jupiter took into his hands the government of the world, the several parts of nature with the presiding deities did homage to him. One presented him with a mountain of winds, another with a magazine of hail, and a third with a pile of thunder-bolts. The stars offered up their influences; the ocean gave in his trident, the earth her fruits, and the sun his seasons. Among the several deities who came to make their court on this occasion, the Destinies advanced with two great tuns carried before them, one of which they fixed at the right hand of Jupiter, as he sat upon his throne, and the other on his left. The first was filled with all the blessings, and the other with all the calamities.

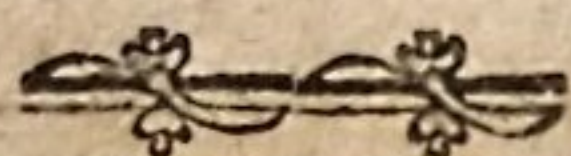


lamities of human life. Jupiter, in the beginning of his reign, finding the world much more innocent than it is in this iron age, poured very plentifully out of the tun that stood at his right hand; but as mankind degenerated, and become unworthy of his blessings, he set abroach the other Vessel, that filled the world with pain and poverty, battles and distempers, jealousy and falshood, intoxicating pleasures, and untimely deaths.

He was at length so very much incensed at the great depravations of human nature, and the repeated provocations which he received from all parts of the earth, that having resolved to destroy the whole species, except Deucalion and Pyrrha, he commanded the Destinies to gather up the blessings which he had thrown away upon the sons of men, and lay them up until the world should be inhabited by a more virtuous and deserving race of mortals.

The three sisters immediately repaired to the earth, in search of the several blessings that had been scattered on it; but found the task which was enjoined them, to be much more difficult than they imagined. The first places they resorted to, as the most likely to succeed in, were cities, palaces, and courts; but instead of meeting with what they looked for here, they found nothing but envy, repining, uneasiness, and the like bitter ingredients of the left-hand vessel. Whereas, to their great surprise, they discovered content, cheerfulness, health, innocence, and other the most substantial blessings of life, in cottages, shades, and solitudes.

There was another circumstance no less unexpected than the former, and which gave them very great perplexity in the discharge of the trust which Jupiter had committed to them. They observed,



that several blessings had degenerated into calamities, and that several calamities had improved into blessings, according as they fell into the possession of wise or foolish men. They often found power, with so much insolence and impatience cleaving to it, that it became a misfortune to the person on whom it was conferred. Youth had often distempers growing about it, worse than the infirmities of old age: Wealth was often united to such a fordid avarice, as made it the most uncomfortable and painful kind of poverty. On the contrary, they often found pain made glorious by fortitude, poverty lost in content, deformity beautified with virtue. In a word, the blessings were often like good fruits planted in a bad soil, that by degrees fall off from their natural relish, into tastes altogether insipid or unwholesome; and the calamities, like harsh fruits, cultivated in a good soil, and enriched by proper grafts and inoculations, until they swell with generous and delightful juices.

There was still a third circumstance that occasioned as great a surprise to the three sisters as either of the foregoing, when they discovered several blessings and calamities which had never been in either of the tuns that stood by the throne of Jupiter, and were nevertheless as great occasions of happiness or misery as any there. These were that spurious crop of blessings and calamities which were never sown by the hand of the Deity, but grow of themselves out of the fancies and dispositions of human creatures. Such are dress, titles, place, equipage, false shame and groundless fear, with the like vain imaginations that shoot up in trifling, weak, and irresolute minds.

The Destinies, finding themselves in so great a perplexity, concluded that it would be impossible
for



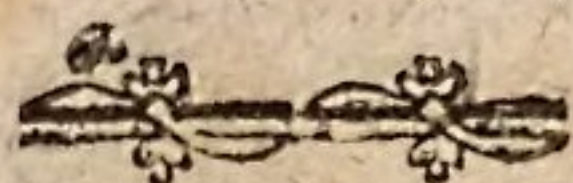
for them to execute the commands that had been given them, according to their first intention; for which reason they agreed to throw all the blessings and calamities together into one large Vessel, and in that manner offer them up at the feet of Jupiter.

This was performed accordingly; the eldest sister presenting herself before the Vessel, and introducing it with an apology for what they had done:

„O Jupiter, says she, we have gathered together all the good and evil, the comforts and distresses of human life, which we thus present before thee in one promiscuous heap. We beseech thee, that thou thyself wilt sort them out for the future, as in thy wisdom thou shalt think fit. For we acknowledge, that there is none besides thee that can judge what will occasion grief or joy in the heart of a human creature, and what will prove a blessing or a calamity to the person on whom it is bestowed.“

Unnion and Valentine, a Fact.

At the siege of Namur by the Allies, there were in the ranks of the company commanded by Captain Pincent, in Colonel Frederick Hamilton's regiment, one Unnion a corporal, and one Valentine a private sentinel: There happened between those two men a dispute about a matter of Love, which, upon some aggravations, grew to an irreconcilable hatred. Unnion being the officer of Valentine, took all opportunities even to strike his rival, and profess the spite and revenge which moved him to it. The sentinel bore it without resistance; but frequently said, he would die



to be revenged of that tyrant. They had spent whole months thus, one injuring, the other complaining; when, in the midst of this rage towards each other, they were commanded upon the attack of the castle, where the corporal received a shot in the thigh, and fell; the French pressing on, and he expecting to be trampled to death, called out to his enemy, Ah, Valentine! can you leave me here? Valentine immediately ran back, and, in the midst of a thick fire of the French, took the corporal upon his back, and brought him through all that danger as far as the Abbey of Salsine, where a cannon-ball took off his head: His body fell under his enemy whom he was carrying off. Unnion immediately forgot his wound, rose up, tearing his hair, and then threw himself upon the bleeding carcase, crying, Ah, Valentine! was it for me who have so barbarously used thee, that thou hast died? I will not live after thee! He was not by any means to be forced from the body, but was removed with it bleeding in his arms, and attended with tears by all their comrades who knew their enmity. When he was brought to a tent, his wounds were dressed by force; but, the next day, still calling upon Valentine, and lamenting his cruelties to him, he died in the pangs of remorse and despair.

It may be a question among men of noble sentiments, who of these unfortunate persons had the greater Soul? he that was so generous as to venture his life for his enemy, or he who could not survive the man that died, in laying upon him such an obligation?



A Corporal and his Wife.

A Corporal of a Company in a Regiment of Foot was, during the Civil Wars in England, taken by the Enemy. The two Parties were upon such Terms at that Time, that they did not treat each other as Prisoners of War, but as Traitors and Rebels. The poor Corporal, being condemned to die, wrote a Letter to his wife, when under sentence of execution. He wrote it on the Thursday, and was to be executed on the Friday: But considering that the Letter would not come to his wife's hand until Saturday, the day after his execution, and being at that time more scrupulous than ordinary in speaking exact truth, he formed his Letter rather according to the posture of his affairs, when she should read it, than as they stood when he sent it: Though it must be confessed, there is a certain perplexity in the style of it, which the reader will easily pardon, considering his circumstances.

“DEAR WIFE,

„Hoping you are in good health, as I am at
„this present writing; this is to let you know, that
„yesterday, between the hours of eleven and twelve,
„I was hanged, drawn, and quartered. I died
„very penitently, and every body thought my case
„very hard. Remember me kindly to my poor fatherless children.

„Yours, until death,

„W. B.”

It so happened, that this honest fellow was relieved by a party of his friends, and had the satisfaction to see all the rebels hanged who had been his enemies. I must not omit a circumstance

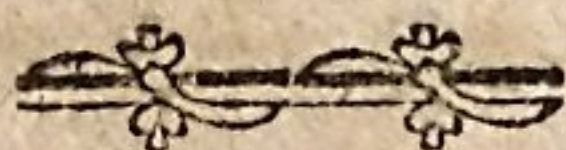


which exposed him to raillery his whole life after. Before the arrival of the next post, that would have set all things clear, his wife was married to a second husband, who lived in the peaceable possession of her; and the Corporal, who was a man of plain understanding, did not care to stir in the matter, as knowing that she had the news of his death under his own hand, which she might have produced upon occasion.

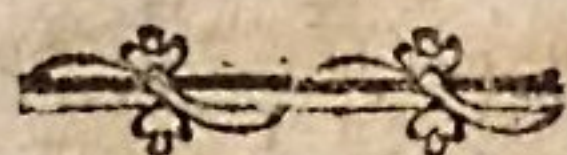
A Scold reformed.

There are very many ill habits that might with much ease have been prevented, which, after we have indulged ourselves in them, become incorrigible. We have a sort of proverbial expression, of "Taking a woman down in her wedding shoes," if you would bring her to reason. An early behaviour of this sort had a very remarkable good effect in a family, wherein I was several years an intimate acquaintance.

A Gentleman in Lincolnshire had four daughters, three of which were early married very happily; but the fourth, though no way inferior to any of her sisters, either in person or accomplishments, had from her infancy discovered so imperious a temper, usually called a high Spirit, that it continually made great uneasiness in the family, became her known character in the neighbourhood, and deterred all her lovers from declaring themselves. However, in process of time, a Gentleman of a plentiful fortune and long acquaintance, having observed that quickness of spirit to be her only fault, made his addresses, and obtained her consent in due form. The lawyers finished the writings, in which, by the way, there was no pin-money, and they



they were married. After a decent time spent in the father's house, the bridegroom went to prepare his seat for her reception. During the whole course of his courtship, though a man of the most equal temper, he had artificially lamented to her, that he was the most passionate creature breathing. By this one intimation, he at once made her understand warmth of temper to be what he ought to pardon in her, as well as that he alarmed her against that constitution in himself. She at the same time thought herself highly obliged by the composed behaviour which he maintained in her presence. Thus far he with great success soothed her from being guilty of violences, and still resolved to give her such a terrible apprehension of his fiery spirit, that she should never dream of giving way to her own. He returned on **the** day appointed for carrying her home; but instead of a coach and six horses, together with the gay equipage suitable to the occasion, he appeared without a servant, mounted on the skeleton of a horse, with his huntsman had, the day before, brought in to feast his dogs on the arrival of his new mistress, with a pillion fixed behind, and a case of pistols before him, attended only by a favourite hound. Thus equipped, he in a very obliging, but somewhat positive manner, desired his Lady to seat herself on the cushion; which done, away they crawled. The road being obstructed by a gate, the dog was commanded to open it: The poor cur looked up and wagged his tail; but the master, to shew the impatience of his temper, drew a pistol, and shot him dead. He had no sooner done it, but he fell into a thousand apologies for his unhappy rashness, and begged as many pardons for his excesses before one for whom he had so profound a respect. Soon after their steed stumbled, but with

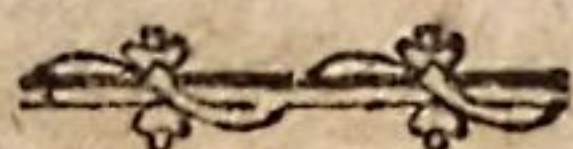


some difficulty recovered: However, the bridegroom took occasion to swear, if he frightened his wife so again, he would run him through; and alas! the poor animal, being now almost tired, made a second trip; immediately on which the careful husband alights, and with great ceremony, first takes off his Lady, then the accoutrements, draws his sword, and saves the huntsman the trouble of killing him; Then says to his wife, Child, pr'y thee take up the saddle; which she readily did, and tugged it home, where they found all things in the greatest order suitable to their fortune and the present occasion. Some time after, the father of the Lady gave an entertainment to all his daughters and their husbands; where, when the wives were retired, and the Gentlemen passing a toast about, our last married man took occasion to observe to the rest of his brethren, how much, to his great satisfaction, he found the world mistaken as to the temper of his Lady, for that she was the most meek and humble woman breathing. The applause was received with a loud laugh: But as a trial which of them would appear the most master at home, he proposed they should all by turns send for their wives down to them. A servant was dispatched, and answer was made by one, Tell him I will come by and by; and another, That she would come when the cards were out of her hand, and so on. But no sooner was her husband's desire whispered in the ear of our last married Lady, but the cards were clapped on the table, and down she comes with, My dear, would you speak with me? He received her in his arms, and after repeated caresses tells her the experiment, confesses his good nature, and assures her, that since she could now command her temper, he would no longer disguise his own.

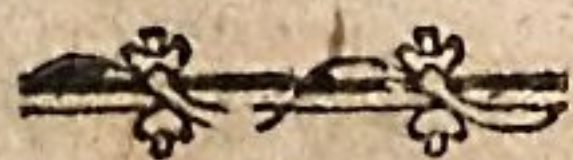
Inkle

Inkle and Yarico.

Mr. Thomas Inkle, of London, aged twenty years, embarked in the Downs on the good ship called the Achilles, bound for the West-Indies, on the 16th of June, 1647, in order to improve his fortune by trade and merchandise. Our adventurer was the third son of an eminent citizen, who had taken particular care to instil into his mind an early love of gain, by making him a perfect master of numbers, and consequently giving him a quick view of loss and advantage, and preventing the natural impulses of his passions, by prepossession towards his interests. With a mind thus turned, young Inkle had a person every way agreeable, a ruddy vigour in his countenance, strength in his limbs, with ringlets of fair hair loosely flowing on his shoulders. It happened, in the course of the voyage, that the Achilles, in some distress, put into a creek on the main of America, in search of provisions. The youth, who is the hero of my story, among others went ashore on this occasion. From their first landing they were observed by a party of Indians, who hid themselves in the woods for that purpose. The English unadvisedly marched a great distance from the shore into the country, and were intercepted by the natives, who slew the greatest number of them. Our adventurer escaped among others, by flying into a forest. Upon his coming into a remote and pathless part of the wood, he threw himself, tired and breathless, on a little hillock, when an Indian maid rushed from a thicket behind him. After the first surprise, they appeared mutually agreeable to each other. If the European was highly charmed with the limbs, features, and wild graces of the naked American: the American



was no less taken with the dress, complexion, and shape of an European, covered from head to foot. The Indian grew immediately enamoured of him, and consequently solicitous for his preservation. She therefore conveyed him to a cave, where she gave him a delicious repast of fruits, and led him to a stream to slake his thirst. In the midst of these good offices, she would sometimes play with his hair, and delight in the opposition of its colour to that of her fingers; then open his bosom, then laugh at him for covering it. She was, it seems, a person of distinction, for she every day came to him in a different dress, of the most beautiful shells, bugles, and breches. She likewise brought him a great many spoils, which her other lovers had presented to her, so that his cave was richly adorned with all the spotted skins of beasts, and most party-coloured feathers of fowls, which that part of the world afforded. To make his confinement more tolerable, she would carry him in the dusk of the evening, or by the favour of the moon-light, to unfrequented groves and solitudes, and shew him where to lie down in safety, and sleep amidst the falls of waters, and melody of nightingales. Her part was to watch and hold him awake in her arms, for fear of her countrymen, and awake him on occasions to consult his safety. In this manner did the lovers pass away their time, till they had learned a language of their own, in which the voyager communicated to his mistress, how happy he should be to have her in his own country, where she should be clothed in such silks as his waistcoat was made of, and be carried in houses drawn by horses, without being exposed to wind and weather. All this he promised her the enjoyment of, without such fear and alarms as they were tormented with. In this tender cor-
respon-



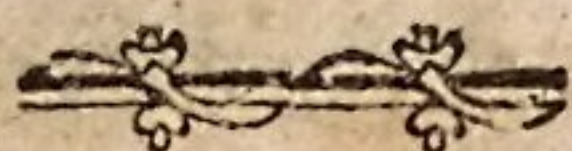
respondence these lovers lived for several months, when Yarico, instructed by her lover, discovered a vessel on the coast, to which she made signals; and in the night, with the utmost joy and satisfaction, accompanied him to a ship's crew of his countrymen, bound for Barbadoes. When a vessel from the main arrives in that island, it seems the planters come down to the shore, where there is an immediate market of the Indians and other slaves, as with us of horses and oxen.

To be short, Mr. Thomas Inkle, now coming into English territories, began seriously to reflect upon his loss of time, and to weigh with himself how many days interest of his money he had lost during his stay with Yarico. This thought made the young man very pensive and careful what account he should be able to give his friends of his voyage. Upon which consideration, the prudent and frugal young man sold Yarico to a Barbadian merchant; notwithstanding the poor girl, to commiserate her condition, told him that she was with child by him; but he only made use of that information, to rise in his demands upon the purchaser.

I was so touch'd with this story (which I think should be always a counterpart to the Ephesian Matron) that I left the room with tears in my eyes; which a woman of Arietta's good sense did, I am sure, take for greater applause, than any compliments I could make her.

Pactus and Arria.

When the worst man that ever lived in the world had the highest station in it, human life was the object of his diversion; and he sent orders frequently, out of mere wantonness, to take off such
and



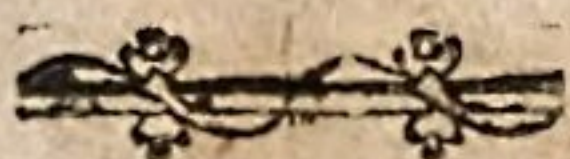
and such, without so much as being angry with them. Nay, frequently his tyranny was so humorous, that he put men to death, because he could not but approve of them. It came one day to his ear, that a certain married couple, Pætus and Arria, lived in a more happy tranquillity and mutual love than any other persons who were then in being. He listened with great attention to the account of their manner of spending their time together, of the constant pleasure they were to each other in all their words and actions; and found by exact information, that they were so treasonable, as to be much more happy than his Imperial Majesty himself. Upon which he writ Pætus the following billet:

“Pætus, you are hereby desired to dispatch yourself. I have heard a very good character of you; and therefore leave it to yourself, whether you will die by dagger, sword, or poison. If you outlive this order above an hour, I have given directions to put you to death by torture.

„Nero.“

This familiar epistle was delivered to his wife Arria, who opened it.

One must have a Soul very well turned for love, pity, and indignation, to comprehend the tumult this unhappy Lady was thrown into upon this occasion. The passion of love is no more to be understood by some tempers, than a problem in a science by an ignorant man: But he that knows what affection is, will have, upon considering the condition of Arria, ten thousand thoughts flowing upon him, which the tongue was not formed to express; but the charming statue is now before my eyes, and Arria, in her unutterable sorrow, has more beauty than ever appeared in youth, in mirth,
or



or in triumph. These are the great and noble incidents which speak the dignity of our nature, in our sufferings and distresses. Behold her tender affection for her husband sinks her features into a countenance, which appears more helpless than that of an infant: But again, her indignation shews in her visage and her bosom a resentment as strong as that of the bravest man. Long she stood in this agony of alternate rage and love; but at last composed herself for her dissolution, rather than survive her beloved Pætus. . . . When he came into her presence, he found her with the tyrant's letter in one hand, and a dagger in the other. Upon his approach to her, she gave him the order: and at the same time stabbing herself, „Pætus, said she, it is not painful;“ and expired. Pætus immediately followed her example. The passion of these memorable lovers was such, that it eluded the rigour of their fortune, and baffled the force of a blow, which neither felt, because each received it for the sake of the other. The woman's part in this story is by much the more heroic, and has occasioned one of the best epigrams transmitted to us from antiquity.

When Arria pull'd the dagger from her side,
Thus to her consort spoke th' illustrious bride:
The wound I gave myself I do not grieve,
I die by that which Pætus must receive.

Fatal Effects of Inadvertency.

A young Gentleman and Lady of ancient and honourable houses in Cornwall, had from their childhood entertained for each other a generous and noble passion, which had been long opposed by their friends, by reason of the inequality of their
for-



fortunes; but their constancy to each other, and obedience to those on whom they depended, wrought so much upon their relations, that these celebrated lovers were at length joined in marriage. Soon after their nuptials, the bridegroom was obliged to go into a foreign country to take care of a considerable fortune, which was left him by a relation, and came very opportunely to improve their moderate circumstances. They received the congratulations of all the country on this occasion; and I remember it was a common sentence in every one's mouth, "you see how faithful love is rewarded."

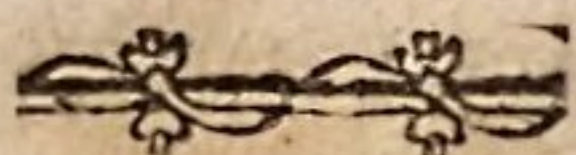
He took this agreeable voyage, and sent home every post fresh accounts of his success in his affairs abroad; but at last, though he designed to return with the next ship, he lamented in his letters, that business would detain him some time longer from home; because he would give himself the pleasure of an unexpected arrival.

The young Lady, after the heat of the day, walked every evening on the sea-shore, near which she lived, with a familiar friend, her husband's Kinswoman; and diverted herself with what objects they met there, or upon discourse of the future methods of life, in the happy change of their circumstances. They stood one evening on the shore together in a perfect tranquillity, observing the setting of the sun, the calm face of the Deep, and the silent heaving of the waves, which gently rolled towards them, and broke at their feet; when at a distance her Kinswoman saw something float on the waters, which she fancied was a chest; and with a smile told her, she saw it first, and if it came ashore full of jewels, she had a right to it. They both fixed their eyes upon it, and entertained themselves with



with the subject of the wreck, the cousin still asserting her right; but promising, if it was a prize, to give her a very rich coral for the child of which she was then big, provided she might be god-mother. Their mirth soon abated, when they observed, upon the nearer approach, that it was a human body. The young Lady, who had a heart naturally filled with pity and compassion, made many melancholy reflections on the occasion. Who knows, said she, but this man may be the only hope and heir of a wealthy house; the darling of indulgent parents, who are now in impertinent mirth, and pleasing themselves with the thoughts of offering him a bride they have got ready for him? or, may he not be the master of a family that wholly depended upon his life? There may, for aught we know, be half a dozen fatherless children, and a tender wife, now exposed to poverty by his death. What pleasure might he have promised himself in the different welcome he was to have from her and them? But let us go away; it is a dreadful sight! The best office we can do, is to take care that the poor man, whoever he is, may be decently buried. She turned away, when a wave threw the carcase on the shore. The Kinswoman immediately shrieked out, Oh, my cousin! and fell upon the ground. The unhappy wife went to help her friend, when she saw her own husband at her feet, and dropped in a swoon upon the body. An old woman, who had been the Gentleman's nurse, came out about this time to call the Ladies in to supper, and found her child, as she always called him, dead on the shore, her mistress and Kinswoman both lying dead by him. Her loud lamentations, and calling her young master to life, soon awakened the friend from her trance; but the wife was gone for ever.

When



When the family and neighbourhood got together round the bodies, no one asked any question, but the objects before them told the story.

Incidents of this nature are the more moving when they are drawn by persons concerned in the catastrophe, notwithstanding they are often oppressed beyond the power of giving them in a distinct light, except we gather their sorrow from their inability to speak it.

I have two original letters, written both on the same day, which are to me exquisite in their different kinds. The occasion was this: A Gentleman who had courted a most agreeable young woman, and won her heart, obtained also the consent of her father, to whom she was an only child. The old man had a fancy that they should be married in the same church where he himself was, in a village in Westmoreland, and made them set out while he was laid up with the gout at London. The Bridegroom took only his man, and the Bride her maid: They had the most agreeable journey imaginable to the place of marriage; from whence the Bridegroom writ the following letter to his wife's father.

March 18, 1672.

SIR,

„After a very pleasant journey hither, we are preparing for the happy hour in which I am to be
 „your son. I assure you, the Bride carries it, in
 „the eye of the Vicar who married you, much
 „beyond her mother; though he says, your open
 „sleeves, pantaloons, and shoulder-knot, made a
 „much better show than the finical dress I am in.
 „How-



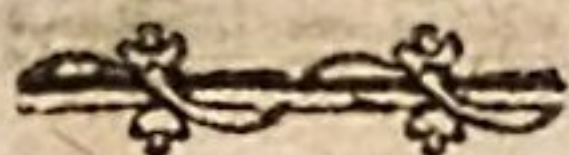
„However, I am contented to be the second fine
„man this village ever saw, and shall make it very
„merry before night, because I shall write myself
„from thence,

„Your most dutiful son,

„T. D.

„The Bride gives her duty, and is as handsome
„as an angel — I am the happiest man breathing.“

The villagers were assembling about the church, and the happy couple took a walk in a private garden. The Bridegroom's man knew his master would leave the place on a sudden after the wedding, and seeing him draw his pistols the night before, took his opportunity to go into his chamber and charge them. Upon their return from the garden, they went into that room; and after a little fond raillery on the subject of their courtship, the lover took up a pistol, which he knew he had unloaded the night before, and presenting it to her, said, with the most graceful air, whilst she looked pleased at this agreeable flattery; Now, Madam, repent of all those cruelties you have been guilty of to me; consider before you die, how often you have made a poor wretch freeze under your casement: you shall die, you tyrant, you shall die, with all those instruments of death and destruction about you, with that enchanting smile, those killing ringlets of your hair — Give fire, said she, laughing. He did so; and shot her dead. Who can speak his condition? But he bore it so patiently as to call up his man. The poor wretch entered, and his master locked the door upon him. Will, said he, did you charge these pistols?



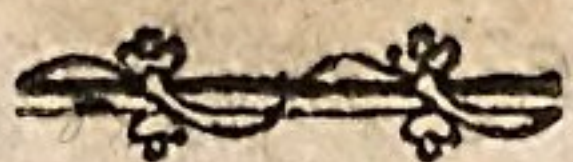
stols? He answered, Yes. Upon which he shot him dead with that remaining. After this, amidst a thousand broken sobs, piercing groans, and distracted motions, he writ the following Letter to the father of his dead mistress.

„SIR,

„I who two hours ago told you truly, I was
 „the happiest man alive, am now the most miserable.
 „Your daughter lies dead at my feet, killed by my
 „hand, through a mistake of my man's charging
 „my pistols unknown to me. Him have I murdered
 „for it. Such is my wedding-day. — I will
 „immediately follow my wife to her grave: But be-
 „fore I throw myself upon my sword, I command
 „my distraction so far as to explain my story to you.
 „I fear my heart will not keep together until I have
 „stabbed it. Poor good old man! Remember, he
 „that killed your daughter, died for it. In the ar-
 „ticle of death, I give you my thanks, and pray
 „for you, though I dare not for myself. If it be
 „possible, do not curse me.“

Cure of a Blind born.

While others are busied in relations which concern the interests of Princes, the peace of Nations, and the revolutions of Empire; I think, though these are very great subjects, my theme of discourse is sometimes to be of matters of a yet higher consideration. The slow steps of providence and nature, and strange events which are brought about in an instant, are what, as they come within our view and observation, shall be given to the Public. Such things are not accompanied with show and noise,

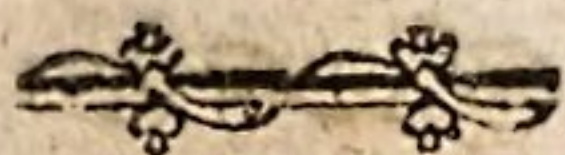


noise, and therefore seldom draw the eyes of the unattentive part of mankind; but are very proper at once to exercise our humanity, please our imaginations, and improve our judgments. It may not therefore be unuseful to relate many circumstances, which were observable upon a late cure done upon a young Gentleman who was born blind, and on the twenty-ninth of June last received his sight at the age of twenty years, by the operation of an Oculist. This happened no farther off than Newington, and the work was prepared for in the following manner.

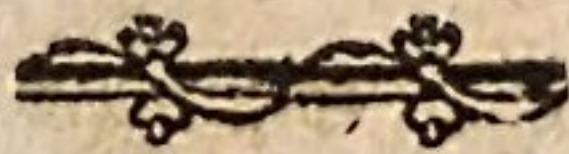
The operator, Mr. Grant, having observed the Eyes of his Patient, and convinced his friends and relations, among others the Reverend Mr. Caswell, Minister of the place, that it was highly probable he should remove the obstacle which prevented the use of his sight; all his acquaintance, who had any regard for the young man, or curiosity to be present when one of full age and understanding received a new sense, assembled themselves on this occasion. Mr. Caswell, being a Gentleman particularly curious, desired the whole company, in case the blindness should be cured, to keep silence; and let the Patient make his own observations; without the direction of any thing he had received by his other senses, or the advantage of discovering his friends by their voices. Among several others, the mother, brethren, sisters, and a young Gentlewoman for whom he had a passion, were present. The work was performed with great skill and dexterity. When the Patient first received the dawn of light, there appeared such an ecstasy in his action, that he seemed ready to swoon away in the surprize of joy and wonder. The surgeon stood before him with his instruments in his hands. The



young man observed him from head to foot; after which he surveyed himself as carefully, and seemed to compare him to himself; and observing both their hands, seemed to think they were exactly alike, except the instruments, which he took for parts of his hands. When he had continued in this amazement some time, his mother could not longer bear the agitations of so many passions as thronged upon her; but fell upon his neck, crying out, My son! my son! The youth knew her voice, and could speak no more than, Oh me! are you my mother? and fainted. The whole room, you will easily conceive, were very affectionately employed in recovering him; but above all, the young Gentlewoman who loved him, and whom he loved, shrieked in the loudest manner. That voice seemed to have a sudden effect upon him as he recovered; and he shewed a double curiosity in observing her as she spoke and called to him; until at last he broke out, What has been done to me? whither am I carried? Is all this about me, the thing I have heard so often of? is this the light? is this seeing? Were you always thus happy, when you said, you were glad to see each other? Where is Tom, who used to lead me? But I could now, methinks, go any where without him. He offered to move, but seemed afraid of every thing around him. When they saw his difficulty, they told him, until he became better acquainted with his new being, he must let the servant still lead him. The boy was called for, and presented to him. Mr. Caswell asked him, what sort of thing he took Tom to be before he had seen him? He answered, he believed there was not so much of him as of himself; but he fancied him the same sort of creature. The noise of this sudden change made all the neighbourhood throng to the place



place where he was. As he saw the crowd thickening, he desired Mr. Caswell, to tell him how many there were in all to be seen. The Gentleman, smiling, answered him, that it would be very proper for him to return to his late condition, and suffer his Eyes to be covered, until they had received strength; for he might remember well enough, that by degrees he had from little and little come to the strength he had at present in his ability of walking and moving; and that it was the same thing with his Eyes, which, he said, would lose the power of continuing to him that wonderful transport he was now in, except he would be contented to lay aside the use of them, until they were strong enough to bear the light without so much feeling as, he knew, he underwent at present. With much reluctance he was prevailed upon to have his Eyes bound; in which condition they kept him in a dark room, until it was proper to let the organ receive its objects without further precaution. During the time of this darkness, he bewailed himself in the most distressed manner; and accused all his friends, complaining that some incantation had been wrought upon him, and some strange magic used to deceive him into an opinion, that he had enjoyed what they called Sight. He added, that the impressions then let in upon his Soul would certainly distract him, if he were not so at that present. At another time, he would strive to name the persons he had seen among the crowd after he was couched, and would pretend to speak, in perplexed terms of his own making, of what he in that short time observed. But on the sixth instant it was thought fit to unbind his head, and the young woman whom he loved was instructed to open his Eyes accordingly; as well to endear herself to him by such a circumstance, as to

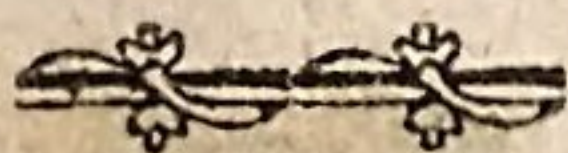


moderate his ecstasies by the persuasion of a voice, which had so much power over him as hers ever had. When this beloved young woman began to take off the binding of his Eyes, she talked to him as follows:

„Mr. William, I am now taking the binding
„off, though, when I consider what I am doing,
„I tremble with the apprehension, that (though I
„have from my very childhood loved you, dark as
„you were, and though you had conceived so strong
„a love for me, yet) you will find there is such a
„thing as Beauty, which may ensnare you into a
„thousand passions of which you are now innocent,
„and take you from me for ever. But, before I
„put myself to that hazard, tell me in what manner
„that love, you always professed to me, entered
„into your heart? for its usual admission is at the
„Eyes.“

The young man answered, „Dear Lidia, if I
„am to lose by sight the soft pantings which I have
„always felt when I heard your voice; if I am no
„more to distinguish the step of her I love when she
„approaches me, but to change that sweet and frequent pleasure for such an amazement as I knew
„the little time I lately saw; or if I am to have any
„thing besides, which may take from me the sense I
„have of what appeared most pleasing to me at that
„time, which apparition it seems was you; pull out
„these Eyes, before they lead me to be ungrateful
„to you, or undo myself. I wished for them but
„to see you, pull them out, if they are to make
„me forget you.“

Lidia was extremely satisfied with these assurances; and pleased herself with playing with his perplexities. In all his talk to her, he shewed but very faint ideas of any thing which had not been received

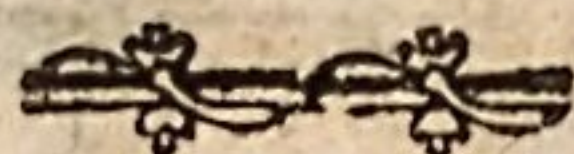


ceived at the ear; and closed his protestation to her, by saying, that if he were to see Valentia and Barcelona, whom he supposed the most esteemed of all women, by the quarrel there was about them, he would never like any but Lidia.

Fatal Effects of Jealousy, a Fact.

Jealousy is one of those outrageous passions which in the first transports of its rage may plunge a man in a few minutes into all the horrors of guilt, distraction and ruin; as will appear from a Scene of misfortunes which really happened some years ago in Spain; and is an instance of the most tragical hurricane of passion I have ever met with in history. It may be easily conceived, that an heart ever big with resentments of its own dignity, and never allayed by reflections which make us honour ourselves for acting with reason and equality, will take fire precipitantly. It will on a sudden flame too high to be extinguished. The short story I am going to tell, is a lively instance of the truth of this observation, and a just warning to those of jealous honour to look about them, and begin to possess their souls as they ought; for no man of spirit knows how terrible a creature he is till he comes to be provoked.

Don Alonzo, a Spanish nobleman, had a beautiful and virtuous wife, with whom he had lived for some years in great tranquillity. The gentleman, however, was not free from the faults usually imputed to his nation; he was proud, suspicious, and impetuous. He kept a Moor in his house, whom, on a complaint from his Lady, he had punished for a small offence with the utmost severity. The slave vowed revenge, and communicated his

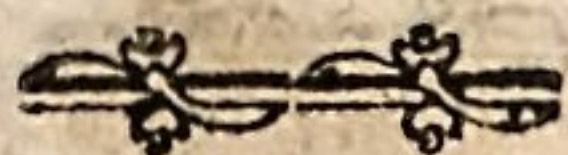


resolution to one of the Lady's women with whom he lived in a criminal way. This creature also hated her mistress, for she feared she was observed by her; she therefore undertook to make Don Alonzo jealous, by insinuating that the gardener was often admitted to his Lady in private, and promising to make him an eye-witness of it. At the proper time agreed on between her and the Morisco, she sent a message to the gardener, that his Lady having some hasty orders to give him, would have him come that moment to her in her chamber. In the mean time, she had placed Alonzo privately in an outer-room, that he might observe who passed that way. It was not long before he saw the gardener appear. Alonzo had not patience, but following him into the apartment, struck him at one blow with a dagger to the heart; then dragging his Lady by the hair without inquiring farther, he instantly killed her.

Here he paused, looking on the dead bodies with all the agitations of a dæmon of revenge; when the wench who had occasioned these terrors, distracted with remorse, threw herself at his feet, and in a voice of lamentation, without sense of the consequence, repeated all her guilt. Alonzo was overwhelmed with all the violent passions at one instant, and uttered the broken voices and motions of each of them for a moment, till at last he recollected himself enough to end his agony of love, anger, disdain, revenge and remorse, by murdering the maid, the Moor, and himself.

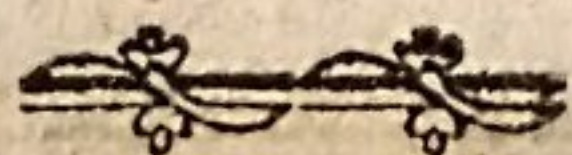
Disinterestedness.

I have been just now reading the introduction to the history of Catiline by Sallust, an author who is very much in my favour. But when I reflect
upon



upon his professing himself wholly disinterested, and at the same time see how industriously he has avoided saying any thing to the praise of Cicero, to whose vigilance the commonwealth owed its safety, it very much lessens my esteem for that writer; and is one argument, among others, for laughing at all who pretend to be out of the interests of the world, and profess purely to act for the service of mankind, without the least regard to themselves. I do not deny but that the rewards are different; some aim at riches, others at honour, by their public services. However, they are all pursuing some end to themselves, though indeed those ends differ as much as right and wrong. The most graceful way then, I should think, would be to acknowledge, that you aim at serving yourselves; but at the same time make it appear, it is for the service of others that you have these opportunities.

Of all the disinterested professors I have ever heard of, I take the Boatswain of Dampier's ship to be the most impudent, but the most excusable. You are to know, that in the wild searches that navigator was making, they happened to be out at sea, far distant from any shore, in want of all the necessities of life: insomuch, that they began to look, not without hunger, on each other. The Boatswain was a fat, healthy, fresh fellow, and attracted the eyes of the whole crew. In such an extreme necessity, all forms of superiority were laid aside. The Captain and Lieutenant were safe only by being carrion, and the unhappy Boatswain in danger only by being worth eating. To be short, the company were unanimous, and the Boatswain must be cut up. He saw their intention, and desired he might speak a few words before they proceeded; which being permitted, he delivered himself as follows:



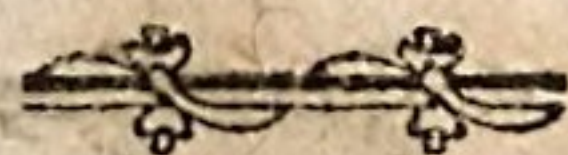
„ GENTLEMEN SAILORS,

„Far be it that I should speak it for any private
„interest of my own; but I take it, that I should
„not die with a good conscience, if I did not con-
„fess to you, that I am not sound. I say, Gent-
„lemen, justice, and the testimony of a good con-
„science, as well as love of my country, to which
„I hope you will all return, oblige me to own,
„that black Kate at Deptford has made me very un-
„safe to eat; and, I speak it with shame, I am
„afraid, Gentlemen, I should poison you.“

This speech had a good effect in the Boatswain's favour: but the surgeon of the ship protested, he had cured him very well, and offered to eat the first steak of him himself.

The Boatswain replied, like an orator, with a true notion of the people, and in hopes to gain time, that he was heartily glad if he could be for their service, and thanked the surgeon for his information. However, said he, I must inform you, for your own good, that I have, ever since my cure, been very thirsty and dropfical; therefore I presume, it would be much better to tap me and drink me off, than eat me at once, and have no man in the ship fit to be drank. As he was going on with his harangue, a fresh gale arose, and gave the crew hopes of a better repast at the nearest shore, to which they arrived next morning.

Most of the self-denials we meet with are of this sort; therefore, I think, he acts fairest who owns, he hopes at least to have brother's fare, without professing that he gives himself up with pleasure to be devoured for the preservation of his fellows.



III. DIALOGUES.

Alexander the great, and Charles the Twelfth,
King of Sweden.

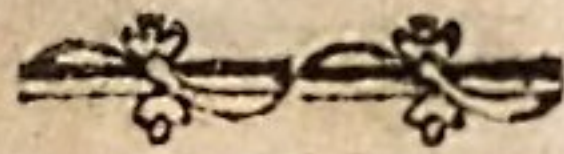
ALEXANDER. Your Majesty seems in great wrath!
Who has offended you?

CHARLES. The offence is to you as much as me. Here is a fellow admitted into Elysium, who has affronted us both: an English Poet, one Pope. He has called us two madmen!

ALEX. I have been unlucky in Poets. No Prince ever was fonder of the Muses than I, or has received from them a more ungrateful return! When I was alive, I declared that I envied Achilles, because he had a Homer to celebrate his exploits; and I most bountifully rewarded Chœrilus, a pretender to poetry, for writing verses on mine: but my liberality, instead of doing me honour, has since drawn upon me the ridicule of Horace, a witty Roman Poet: and Lucan, another versifier of the same nation, has loaded my memory with the harshest invectives.

CHARL. I know nothing of these; but I know that in my time, a pert French Satirist, one Boileau, made so free with your character, that I tore his book for having abused my favorite hero. And now this saucy Englishman has libelled us both. — But I have a proposal to make to you for the reparation of our honour. If you will join me, we will turn all these insolent scriblers out of Elysium, and throw them down headlong to the bottom of Tartarus, in spite of Pluto and all his guards.

ALEX. This is just such a scheme as that you formed at Bender, to maintain yourself there, with
the



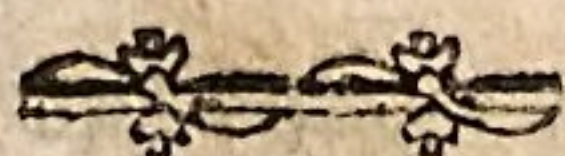
the aid of three hundred Swedes, against the whole force of the Ottoman empire. And I must say, that such follies gave the English Poet too much cause to call you a madman.

CHARL. If my heroism was madness, your's, I presume, was not wisdom.

ALEX. There was a vast difference between your conduct and mine. Let Poets or Declaimers say what they will, history shews, that I was not only the bravest soldier, but one of the ablest commanders the world has ever seen. Whereas you, by imprudently leading your army into vast and barren deserts, at the approach of the winter, exposed it to perish in it's march for want of subsistence, lost your Artillery, lost a great number of your soldiers, and were forced to fight with the Muscovites under such disadvantages, as made it almost impossible for you to conquer.

CHARL. I will not dispute your superiority as a General. It is not for me, a mere mortal, to contend with the SON OF JUPITER AMMON.

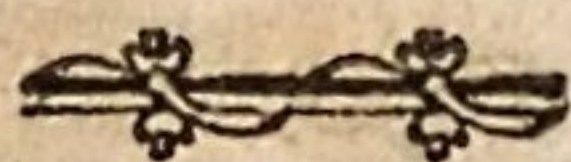
ALEX. I suppose you think my pretending, that Jupiter was my Father, as much entitles me to the name of a madman, as your extravagant behaviour at Bender does you. But you are greatly mistaken. It was not my vanity, but my policy, which set up that pretension. When I proposed to undertake the conquest of Asia, it was necessary for me to appear to the people something more than a man. They had been used to the DEMI-GOD HEROES. I therefore claimed an equal descent with Osiris and Sesostris, with Bacchus and Hercules, the former conquerors of the East. The opinion of my divinity assisted my arms, and subdued all nations before me, from the Granicus to the Ganges. But, though I called myself the SON OF JUPITER, and kept
up



up that veneration that name inspired, by a courage which seemed more than human, and by the sublime magnanimity of all my behaviour, I did not forget that I was **THE SON OF PHILIP**. I used the policy of my father, and the wise lessons of Aristotle, whom he had made my preceptor, in the conduct of all my great designs. It was **THE SON OF PHILIP** who planted Greek Colonies in Asia, as far as the Indies; who formed projects of trade more extensive than his empire itself; who laid the foundations of them in the midst of his wars; who built Alexandria, to be the center and staple of commerce between Europe, Asia and Africk; who sent Nearchus to navigate the unknown Indian seas, and intended to have gone himself from those seas to the pillars of Hercules, that is, to have explored the passage round Africk, the discovery of which has since been so glorious to Vasco de Gama. It was **THE SON OF PHILIP**, who, after subduing the Persians, governed them with such lenity, such justice, and such wisdom, that they loved him even more than ever they had loved their own natural Kings; and who, by intermarriages, and all methods that could best establish a coalition between conquerors and the conquered, united them into one people. But what, Sir, did you do, to advance the trade of your subjects, to procure any benefit to those you had vanquished, or to convert any enemy into a friend?

CHARL. When I might easily have made myself King of Poland, and was advised to do so by Count Piper, my favorite Minister, I generously gave that kingdom to Stanislas, as you had given a great part of your conquests in India to Porus, besides his own dominions which you restored to him intire, after you had beaten his army and taken him captive.

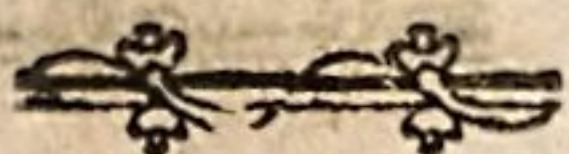
ALEX.



ALEX. I gave him the government of those countries under me, and as my Lieutenant; which was the best method of preserving my power in conquests, where I could not leave garrisons sufficient to maintain them. The same policy was afterwards practised by the Romans, who of all conquerors, except me, were the greatest politicians. But neither was I nor were they, so extravagant, as to conquer only for others, or dethrone Kings with no view, but merely to have the pleasure of bestowing their crowns on some of their subjects, without any advantage to ourselves. Nevertheless, I will own, that my expedition to India was an exploit of THE SON OF JUPITER, not of THE SON OF PHILIP. I had done better if I had staid to give more consistency to my Persian and Grecian Empires, instead off attempting new conquests, and at such a distance, so soon. Yet even this war was of use to hinder my troops from being corrupted by the effeminacy of Asia, and to keep up that universal awe of my name, which in those countries was the great support of my power.

CHARL. In the unwearied activity with which I proceeded from one enterprize to another, I dare call myself your equal. Nay, I may pretend to a higher glory than you, because you only went on from victory to victory; but the greatest losses were not able to diminish my ardour, or stop the efforts of my daring, invincible spirit.

ALEX. You shewed in adversity much more magnanimity than you did in prosperity. How unworthy of a Prince who imitated me, was your behaviour to the King your arms had vanquished! The compelling Augustus to write himself a letter of congratulation to one of his Vassals, whom you had placed on his throne, was the very reverse of my
treat-



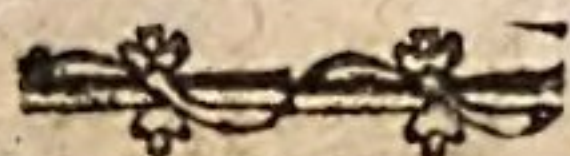
treatment of Porus and Darius. It was an ungenerous insult upon his ill fortune! It was the triumph of a little and a low mind! The visit you made him immediately after that insult, in his own residence at Dresden, was a farther contempt, offensive to him, and both useless and dangerous to yourself.

CHARL. I feared no danger from it. — I knew he durst not use the power I gave him to hurt me.

ALEX. If his resentment, in that instant, had prevailed over his fear, at it was likely to do, you would have perished deservedly by your insolence and presumption. For my part, intrepid as I was in all dangers, which I thought it was necessary or proper for me to meet, I never put myself one moment in the power of an enemy whom I had offended. But you had the rashness of folly as well as of heroism. A false opinion conceived of your enemy's weakness proved, at last your undoing. When, in answer to some reasonable propositions of peace, sent to you by the Czar, you said, "You would come and treat with him at Moscow;" he replied very justly, "That you affected to act like Alexander, but should not find in him a Darius." And, doubtless, you ought to have been better acquainted with the character of that Prince. Had Persia been governed by a Peter Alexiowitz when I made war against it, I should have acted more cautiously, and not have counted so much on the superiority of my troops, in valour and discipline, over an army commanded by a King, who was so capable of instructing them in all they wanted.

CHARL. The battle of Narva, won by eight thousand Swedes against fourscore thousand Muscovites, seemed to authorise my contempt of the nation and their Prince.

ALEX.



ALEX. It happened that their Prince was not present in that battle. But he had not as yet had the time which was necessary to instruct his barbarous soldiers. You gave him that time, and he made so good an use of it, that you found at Pultawa the Muscovites become a different nation. If you had followed the blow you gave them at Narva, and marched directly to Moscow, you might have destroyed their Hercules in his cradle. But you suffered him to grow, till his strength was mature, and then acted as if he had been still in his childhood.

CHARL. I must confess, you excelled me in conduct, in policy, and in true magnanimity. But my liberality was not inferior to your's; and neither you nor any mortal ever surpassed me in the enthusiasm of courage. I was also free from those vices which sullied your character. I never was drunk; I killed no friend in the riot of a feast; I fired no palace at the instigation of a Harlot.

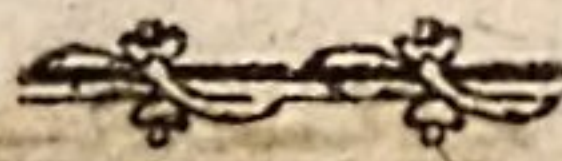
ALEX. It may perhaps be admitted as some excuse for my drunkenness, that the Persians esteemed it an excellence in their Kings to be able to drink a great quantity of wine, and the Macedonians were far from thinking it a dishonour. But you were as frantic and as cruel, when sober, as I was, when drunk. You were sober, when you resolved to continue in Turkey against the will of your host, the Grand Signor. You were sober, when you commanded the unfortunate Patkull, whose only crime was his having maintained the liberties of his country, and who bore the sacred character of an Ambassador, to be broken alive on the wheel, against the laws of Nations, and those of humanity, more inviolable still to a generous mind. You were likewise sober, when you wrote to the Senate of Sweden, who, upon a report of your death, endeavoured



voured to take some care of your Kingdom, "that
,, you would send them one of your boots, and
,, from that they should receive orders, if they
,, pretended to meddle in Government:" An
insult much worse than any the Macedonians com-
plained of from me, when I was most heated with
wine and with adulation! As for my Chastity, it
was not so perfect as your's, though on some occa-
sions I obtained great praise for my continence: but,
perhaps, if you had been not quite so insensible to
the charms of the fair sex, it would have mitigated
and softened the fierceness, the pride and the obsti-
nacy of your nature.

CHARL. It would have softened me into a
woman, or, what I think still more contemptible,
the slave of a woman. But you seem to insinuate,
that you never were cruel or frantic unless when
you were drunk; This I absolutely deny. — You
were not drunk, when you crucified Hephaestion's
Physician, for not curing a man who killed himself
by his intemperance in his sickness; nor when you
sacrificed to the manes of that favorite officer the
whole nation of the Cusleans, men, women, and
children, who were intirely innocent of his death;
because you had read in Homer, that Achilles had
immolated some Trojan captives on the tomb of
Patroclus. I could mention other proofs that your
passions inflamed you as much as wine: but these
are sufficient.

ALEX. I can't deny that my passions were
sometimes so violent, as to deprive me for a while
of the use of my reason; especially when the pride
of such amazing successes, the servitude of the
Persians, and barbarian flattery had intoxicated my
mind. To bear, at my age, with continual mo-
deration, such fortune as mine, was hardly in hu-
e man



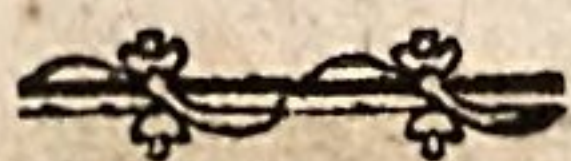
man nature. As for you, there was an excess and intemperance in your virtues, which turned them all into vices. And one virtue you wanted, which in a Prince is very commendable, and beneficial to the public, I mean the love of science and of the elegant arts. Under my care and patronage they were carried in Greece to their utmost perfection. Aristotle, Apelles, and Lysippus were among the glories of my reign: Your's was illustrated only by battles. — Upon the whole, though from some resemblance between us, I should naturally be inclined to decide in your favour, yet I must give the priority in renown to your enemy, Peter Alexiowitz. That great Monarch raised his country; You ruined your's. He was a Legislator; you were a Tyrant.

Hernando Cortez and William Penn.

CORTEZ. Is it possible, William Penn, that you should seriously compare your glory with mine! The planter of a small colony in North-America presume to vie with the conqueror of the great Mexican empire!

PENN. Friend, I pretend to no glory. — the Lord preserve me from it. — All glory is his; but this I say, that I was his instrument in a more glorious work than that performed by thee: incomparably more glorious.

CORTEZ. Dost thou not know, William Penn, that with less than six hundred Spanish foot, eighteen horse, and a few small pieces of cannon, I fought and defeated innumerable armies of very brave men, dethroned an Emperor who had been raised to the throne by his valour, and excelled all his countrymen



men in the science of war, as much as they excelled all the rest of the West Indian nations? that I made him my prisoner in his own capital; and after he had been deposed and slain by his subjects, vanquished and took Guatimozin his successor, and accomplished my conquest of the whole empire of Mexico, which I loyally annexed to the Spanish crown? Dost thou not know, that in doing these wonderful acts, I shewed as much courage as Alexander the Great, and as much prudence as Caesar? That, by my policy, I ranged under my banners the powerful commonwealth of Tlascala, and brought them to assist me in subduing the Mexicans, though with the loss of their own beloved independence? and that, to consummate my glory, when the Governor of Cuba, Velasquez, would have taken my command from me, and sacrificed me to his envy and jealousy, I drew from him all his forces, and joined them to my own, shewing myself as superior to all other Spaniards as I was to the Indians?

PENN. I know very well that thou wast as fierce as a lion, and as subtle as a serpent. The Devil perhaps may place thee as high in his black list of heroes as Alexander or Caesar. It is not my business to interfere with him in settling thy rank. But hark thee, friend Cortez. — What right hast thou, or had the King of Spain himself, to the Mexican empire? Answer me that, if thou canst.

CORTEZ. The Pope gave it to my master.

PENN. But suppose the High priest of Mexico had taken it into his head to give Spain to Montezuma, would his grant have been good?

CORTEZ. These are questions of casuistry, which it is not the business of a soldier to decide. We leave that to Gownsmen. But pray, Mr. Penn, what right had you to the Province you settled?



PENN. An honest right of fair purchase. We gave the native Savages some things they wanted, and they in return gave us Lands they did not want. All was amicably agreed on; not a drop of blood shed to stain our acquisition.

CORTEZ. I am afraid there was a little fraud in the purchase. Thy followers, William Penn, are said to think cheating in a quiet sober way, no mortal sin.

PENN. The saints are always calumniated by the ungodly. But it was a sight which an Angel might contemplate with delight, to behold the colony I settled! To see us living with the Indians like innocent lambs, and taming the ferocity of their barbarous manners by the gentleness of ours! To see the whole country, which before was an uncultivated wilderness, rendered as fertile and fair as the garden of God! O Hernando Cortez, Hernando Cortez, didst thou leave the great empire of Mexico in that state? No, thou hast turned those delightful and populous regions into a desert, a desert flooded with blood. Dost thou not remember that most infernal scene, when the noble Emperor Guatimozin was stretched out by thy soldiers upon hot burning coals, to make him discover into what part of the lake of Mexico he had thrown the Royal treasures? Are not his groans ever sounding in the ears of thy conscience? Do not they rend thy hard heart, and strike thee with more horror than the yells of the Furies?

CORTEZ. Alas! I was not present when that dire act was done. Had I been there, I would have forbidden it. My nature was mild.

PENN.

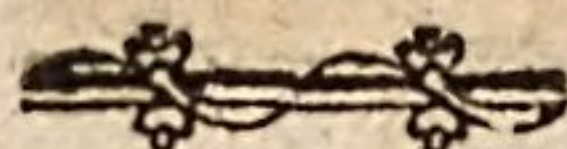


PENN. Thou wast the Captain of that band of robbers, who did this horrid deed. The advantage they had drawn from thy Counsels and Conduct enabled them to commit it: and thy skill saved them afterwards from the vengeance that was due to so enormous a crime. The enraged Mexicans would have properly punished them for it, if they had not had thee for a General, thou Lieutenant of Satan.

CORTEZ. The Saints, I find, can rail, William Penn. But how do you hope to preserve this admirable colony which you have settled? Your people, you tell me, live like innocent lambs. Are there no wolves in North-America, to devour those lambs? But if the Americans should continue in perpetual peace with your successors there, the French will not. Are the inhabitants of Pennsylvania to make war against them with prayers and preaching? If so, that garden of God which you say you have planted, will undoubtedly be their prey, and they will take away from you your property, your laws, and your religion.

PENN. The Lord's will be done. The Lord will defend us against the rage of our enemies, if it be his good pleasure.

CORTEZ. Is this the wisdom of a great Legislator? I have heard some of your countrymen compare you to Solon! Did Solon, think you, give laws to a people, and leave those laws and that people at the mercy of every invader? The first business of a Legislator is to provide a military strength that may defend the whole system. If a house is build in a land of robbers, without a gate to shut, or a bolt or bar to secure it, what avails it how well-proportioned, or how commodious the architecture of it may be? Is it richly furnished within? the more it will tempt the hands of violence and of rapine



rapine to seize its wealth. The world, William Penn, is all a land of robbers. Any state or commonwealth erected therein must be well fenced and secured by good military institutions; or, the happier it is in other respects, the greater will be its danger, the more speedy its destruction. Perhaps the neighbouring English colonies may for a while protect your's; but that precarious security cannot always preserve you. Your plan of government must be changed, or your colony will be lost. What I have said, is also applicable to Great Britain itself. If an Increase of it's wealth be not accompanied with an Increase of it's force, that wealth will become the prey of some of the neighbouring nations, in which the martial spirit is more prevalent than the commercial. And whatever praise may be due to its civil institutions, if they are not guarded by a wise system of military policy, they will be found of no value, being unable to prevent their own dissolution.

PENN. These are suggestions of human wisdom, the doctrines I held, were inspired; they came from above.

CORTEZ. It is blasphemy to say, that any folly could come from the fountain of wisdom. Whatever is inconsistent with the great laws of nature, and with the necessary state of human society, cannot possibly have been inspired by God. Self-defence is as necessary to nations as to men. And shall particulars have a right which nations have not? True religion, William Penn, is the perfection of reason. Fanaticism is the disgrace, the destruction of reason.

PENN. Though what thou sayest should be true, it does not come well from thy mouth. Go to the inquisition, and tell them of reason, and the great laws of nature! They will broil thee, as thy soldiers



diers broiled the unhappy Guatimozin. Why dost thou turn pale? Is it the name of the inquisition, or the name of Guatimozin, that troubles and affrights thee? O wretched man! thou madest thyself a voluntary instrument, to carry into a new-discovered world that hellish tribunal. Tremble and shake, when thou thinkest, that every murder the inquisitors have committed, every torture they have inflicted on the innocent Indians, is originally owing to thee. Thou must answer to God for all their inhumanity, for all their injustice. What wouldst thou give to part with the renown of thy conquests, and to have a conscience as pure and undisturbed as mine?

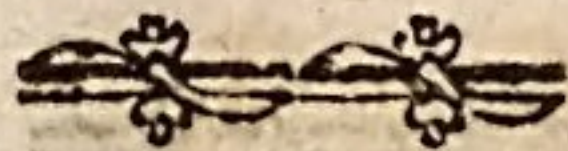
CORTEZ. I feel the force of thy words: they pierce me like daggers. I can never be happy, while I retain any memory of the ills I have caused. — Yet I thought I did right. I thought I laboured to advance the glory of God, and propagate in the remotest parts of the earth his holy religion. He will be merciful to well designing and pious error. Thou also wilt have need of that gracious indulgence: though not, I own, so much as I.

PENN. Ask thy heart, whether ambition was not thy real motive, and zeal the pretence?

CORTEZ. Ask thine, whether thy zeal had no worldly views, and whether thou didst believe all the nonsense of the sect, at the head of which thou wast pleased to become a legislator? Adieu. — Self-examination requires retirement.

Louis le Grand, and Peter the Great.

LOUIS. Who, Sir, could have thought, when you were learning the trade of a shipwright in the
e 4 dock.



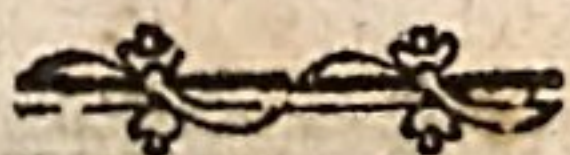
dockyards of England and Holland, that you would ever acquire, as I have done, the surname of Great.

PETER. Which of us best deserved that title, posterity will decide. But my greatness appeared sufficiently in that very act, which seemed to you a debasement.

LOUIS. The dignity of a King does not stoop to such mean employments. For my own part, I was careful never to appear to the eyes of my subjects or foreigners, but in all the splendor and majesty of royal power.

PETER. Had I remained on the throne of Russia, as my ancestors did, environed with all the pomp of barbarous greatness, I should have been idolized by my people, as much, at least, as you ever were by the French. My despotism was more absolute, their servitude was more humble. But then I could not have reformed their evil customs; have taught them arts, civility, navigation, and war; have exalted them from brutes in human shapes into men. In this was seen the extraordinary force of my genius beyond any comparison with other Kings, that I thought it no degradation, or diminution of my greatness, to descend from my throne, and go and work in the dockyards of a foreign Republick; to serve as a private sailor in my own fleets, and as a common soldier in my own army; till I had raised myself by my merit in all the several steps and degrees of promotion, up to the highest command; and had thus induced my nobility to submit to a regular subordination in the sea - and land - service, by a lesson hard to their pride, and which they would not have learnt from any other master, or by any other method of instruction.

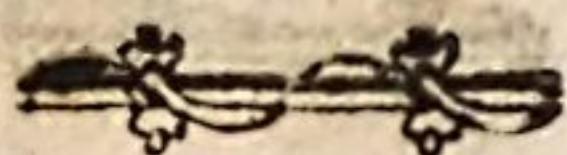
LOUIS. I am forced to acknowledge, that it was a great act. When I thought it a mean one, my judgement was perverted by the prejudices arising



sing from my own education, and that ridicule thrown upon it by some of my courtiers, whose minds were too narrow to be able to comprehend the greatness of your's in that situation.

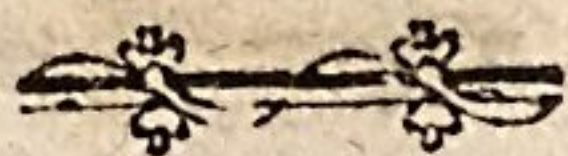
PETER. It was a act of more heroism than any ever done by Alexander or Cæsar. Nor would I consent to exchange my glory with their's. They both did great things; but they were at the head of great nations, far superior in valour and military skill to those with whom they contended. I was the King of an ignorant, undisciplined, barbarous people. My enemies were at first so superior to my subjects, that ten thousand of them could beat a hundred thousand Russians. They had formidable navies: I had not a ship. The King of Sweden was a Prince of the most intrepid courage, assisted by Generals of consummate knowledge in war, and served by soldiers so disciplined, that they were become the admiration and terror of Europe. Yet I vanquished these soldiers: I drove that Prince to take refuge in Turkey; I won battles at sea, as well as at land; I new-created my people; I gave them arts, sciences, policy; I enabled them to keep all the powers of the North in awe and dependence, to give Kings to Poland, to check and intimidate the Ottoman Emperors, to mix with great weight in the affairs of all Europe. What other man has ever done such wonders as these? Read all the records of ancient and modern times, and find, if you can, one fit to be put in comparison with me!

LOUIS. Your glory would indeed have been supreme and unequalled, if, in civilizing your subjects, you had reformed the brutality of your own manners, and the barbarous vices of your nature. But, alas! the Legislator and reformer of the Muscovites was drunken and cruel.



PETER. My drunkenness I confess: nor will I plead, to excuse it, the example of Alexander. It inflamed the tempers of both, which were by nature too fiery, into furious passions of anger, and produced actions, of which our reason, when sober, was ashamed. But the cruelty you upbraid me with, may in some degree be excused, as necessary to the work I had to perform. Fear of punishment was in the hearts of my barbarous subjects the only principle of obedience. To make them respect the royal authority, I was obliged to arm it with all the terrors of rage. You had a more pliant people to govern, a people whose minds could be ruled, like a fine managed horse, with a easy and gentle rein. The fear of shame did more with them, than the fear of the Knout could do with the Russians. The humanity of your character and the ferocity of mine were equally suitable to the nations over which we reigned. But what excuse can you find for the cruel violence you employed against your protestant subjects? They desired nothing, but to live under the protection of laws you yourself had confirmed; and they repaid that protection by the most hearty zeal for your service. Yet these did you force, by the most inhuman severities, either to quit the religion in which they were bred, and which their consciences still retained, or to leave their native land, and endure all the woes of a perpetual exile. If the rules of policy could not hinder you from thus depopulating your kingdom and transferring to foreign countries its manufactures and commerce, I am surprised that your heart itself did not stop you. It makes one shudder to think, that such orders should be sent from the most polished court in Europe, as the most savage Tartars could hardly have executed without remorse and compassion.

LOUIS.

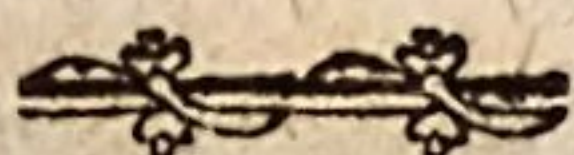


LOUIS. It was not my heart, but my religion, that dictated those severities. My confessor told me, they alone would atone for all my sins.

PETER. Had I believed in my Patriarch, as you believed in your priest, I should not have been the great Monarch that I was. — But I mean not to detract from the merit of a Prince whose memory is dear to his subjects. They are proud of having obeyed you; which is certainly the highest praise to a King. My people also date their glory from the aera of my reign. But there is this capital distinction between us. The pomp and pageantry of state were necessary to your greatness! I was great in myself, great in the energy and powers of my mind, great in the superiority and sovereignty of my soul over all other men.

Pliny the Elder ; Pliny the Younger.

PLINY THE ELDER. The account that you give me, nephew, of your behaviour amidst the terrors and perils that accompanied the first eruption of Vesuvius, does not please me much. There was more of vanity in it than of true magnanimity. Nothing is great that is unnatural and affected. When the earth shook beneath you, when the heavens were obscured with sulphureous clouds, full of ashes and cinders thrown up from the bowels of the new-formed volcano, when all nature seemed on the brink of destruction, to be reading Livy, and making extracts, as if all had been safe and quiet about you: was an absurd affectation. — To meet danger with courage, is the part of a man, but to be insensible of it, is brutal stupidity; and to pretend insensibility where it cannot exist, is ridiculous falseness. When you afterwards refused to
leave



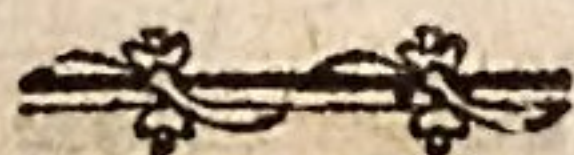
leave your aged mother, and save yourself without her by flight, you indeed acted nobly. It was also becoming a Roman to keep up her spirits, amidst all the horrors of that dreadful scene, by shewing yourself undismayed and courageous. But the merit and glory of this part of your conduct is sunk by the other, which gives an air of ostentation and vanity to the whole.

PLINY THE YOUNGER. That vulgar minds should suppose my attention to my studies in such a conjecture unnatural and affected, I should not much wonder: but that you would blame it as such, I did not expect; you, who approached still nearer than I to the fiery storm, and died by the suffocating heat of the vapour.

PL. THE ELDER. I died, as a good and brave man ought to die, in doing my duty. Let me recall to your memory all the particulars, and then you shall judge yourself on the difference of your conduct and mine. I was the præfect of the Roman fleet which then lay at Misenum. Upon the first account I received of the very unusual cloud that appeared in the air, I ordered a Vessel to carry me out to some distance from the shore, that I might the better observe the phenomenon, and try to discover its nature and cause. This I did as a philosopher, and it was a curiosity proper and natural to a searching, inquisitive mind. I offered to take you with me, and surely you should have desired to go; for Livy might have been read at any other time, and such spectacles are not frequent: but you remained fixed and chained down to your book with a pedantic attachment. When I came out from my house, I found all the people forsaking their dwellings, and flying to the sea, as the safest retreat. To assist them, and all others who dwelt on the coast, I immediately orde-

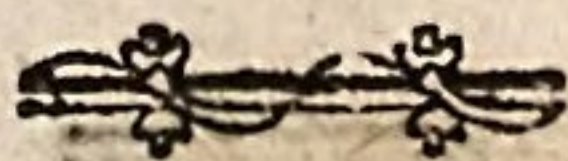


ordered the fleet to put out, and sailed with it round the whole Bay of Naples, steering particularly to those parts of the shore where the danger was greatest, and from whence the inhabitants were endeavouring to escape with the most trepidation. Thus I spent the whole day, and preserved by my care some thousands of lives; noting, at the same time, with a steady composure and freedom of mind, the several forms and phenomena of the eruption. Towards night, as we approached to the foot of Vesuvius, all the galleys were covered with ashes and embers, which grew hotter and hotter; then showers of pumice-stones and burnt and broken pyrites began to fall on our heads: and we were stopped by the obstacles which the ruins of the mountain had suddenly formed by falling into the sea, and almost filling it up on that part of the coast. I then commanded my pilot to steer to the villa of my friend Pomponianus, which you know was situated in the utmost recess of the Bay. The wind was very favourable to carry me thither, but would not allow him to put off from the shore, as he wished to have done. We were therefore constrained to pass the night in his house. They watched, and I slept, until the heaps of pumice-stones, which fell from the clouds, that had now been impelled to that side of the Bay, rose so high in the area of the apartment I lay in, that I could not have got out, had I staid any longer; and the earthquakes were so violent, as to threaten every moment the fall of the house: we therefore thought it more safe to go into the open air, guarding our heads as well as we could with pillows tied upon them. The wind continuing adverse, and the sea very rough, we remained on the shore, until a sulphureous and fiery vapour oppressed my weak lungs, and ended my life. — In all this I hope that



I acted as the duty of my station required, and with true magnanimity. But on this occasion, and in many other parts of your life, I must say, my dear nephew, that there was a vanity mixed with your virtue, which hurt and disgraced it. Without that, you would have been one of the worthiest men that Rome has produced; for none ever excelled you in the integrity of your heart and the greatness of your sentiments. Why would you lose the substance of glory by seeking the shadow? Your eloquence had the same fault as your manners: it was too affected. You professed to make Cicero your guide and your pattern: but when one reads his panegyric upon Julius Cæsar, in his oration for Marcellus, and yours upon Trajan, the first seems the language of nature and truth, raised and dignified with all the majesty of the most sublime eloquence; the latter appears the studied harangue of a florid rhetorician, more desirous to shine and set off his own wit, than to extol the great man he was praising.

PLINY THE YOUNGER. I have too high a respect for you, uncle, to question your judgment either of my life or my writings; they might both have been better, if I had not been too solicitous to render them perfect. But it is not for me to say much on that subject: permit me therefore, to return to the subject on which we began our conversation. What a direful calamity was the eruption of Vesuvius, which you have now been describing! Do not you remember the beauty of that charming coast, and of the mountain itself, before it was broken and torn with the violence of those sudden fires that forced their way through it, and carried desolation and ruin over all the neighbouring country? the foot of it was covered with corn-fields and rich meadows, interspersed with fine villas and magni-



magnificent towns: the sides of it were cloathed with the best vines in Italy, producing the richest and noblest wines. How quick, how unexpected, how dreadful the change! All was at once overwhelmed with ashes and cinders and fiery torrents, presenting to the eye the most dismal scene of horror and destruction!

PLINY THE ELDER. You paint it very truly. — But has it never occurred to your mind that this change is an emblem of that which must happen to every rich, luxurious state? While the inhabitants of it are sunk in voluptuousness, while all is smiling around them, and they think that no evil, no danger is nigh, the seeds of destruction are fermenting within; and, breaking out on a sudden, lay waste all their opulence, all their delights; till they are left a sad monument of divine wrath, and of the fatal effects of internal corruption.

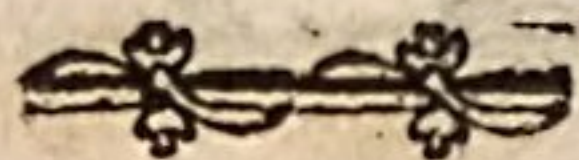
Mr. Addison and Dr. Swift.

DR. SWIFT. Surely, Addison, fortune was exceedingly bent upon playing the fool, (a humour her Ladyship, as well as most other Ladies of very great quality, is frequently in,) when she made you a minister of state, and me a divine!

ADDISON. I must confess, we were both of us out of our elements. But you do not mean to insinuate, that, if our destinies had been reversed, all would have been right?

SWIFT. Yes, I do. — You would have made an excellent Bishop, and I should have governed Great Britain as I did Ireland, with an absolute sway, while I talked of nothing but liberty, and so forth.

ADDI-



ADDISON. You governed the mob of Ireland; but I never heard that you governed the Kingdom. A nation and a mob are different things.

SWIFT. Aye; so you fellows, that have no genius for politics, may suppose. But there are times when, by putting himself at the head of the mob, an able man may get to the head of the nation. Nay, there are times when the nation itself is a mob: and may be treated as such by a skilful observer.

ADDISON. I do not deny the truth of your axiom: but is there no danger that, from the vicissitudes of human affairs, the favourite of the mob should be mobbed in his turn?

SWIFT. Sometimes there may: but I risked it, and it answered my purpose. Ask the lord-lieutenants, who were forced to pay court to me, instead of my courting them, whether they did not feel my superiority. And if I could make myself so considerable when I was only a dirty dean of St. Patrick's, without a seat in either house of parliament, what should I not have done if fortune had placed me in England, unincumbered with a gown, and in a situation to make myself heard in the house of lords or of commons?

ADDISON. You would doubtless have done very marvellous acts! perhaps you might have then been as zealous a whig as Lord Wharton himself: or, if the Whigs had offended the statesman, as they unhappily did the doctor, who knows but you might have brought in the Pretender? pray let me ask you one question between you and me: if you had been first minister under that Prince, would you have tolerated the Protestant religion, or not?

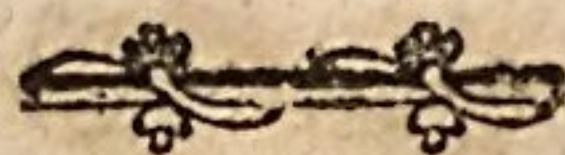
SWIFT. Ha! Mr. Secretary, are you witty upon me? do you think, because Sunderland took

a fancy to make you a great man in the state, that he could also make you as great in wit as nature made me? No, no; wit is like grace, it must come from above. You can no more get that from the King, than my lords the bishops can the other. And though I will own you had some, yet believe me, my friend, it was no match for mine. I think you have not vanity enough to pretend to a competition with me.

ADDISON. I have been often told by my friends that I was rather too modest: so, if you please, I will not decide this dispute for myself, but refer it to Mercury, the god of wit, who happens just now to be coming this way, with a soul he has newly brought to the shades.

Hail, divine Hermes! a question of precedence in the class of wit and humour, over which you preside, having arisen between me and my countryman, Dr. Swift, we beg leave —

MERCURY. Dr. Swift, I rejoice to see you.— How does my old lad? How does honest Lemuel Gulliver? Have you been in Lilliput lately, or in the Flying Island, or with your good nurse Glumdalclitch? Pray, when did you eat a crust with Lord Peter? Is Jack as mad still as ever? I hear the poor fellow is almost got well by more gentle usage. If he had but more food, he would be as much in his senses as brother Martin himself. But Martin, they tell me, has spawned a strange brood of fellows, called Methodists, Moravians, Hutchinso- nians, who are madder than Jack was in his worst days. It is a pity you are not alive again to be at them; they would be excellent food for your tooth; and a sharp tooth it was, as ever was placed in the gum of a mortal; aye, and a strong one too. The hardest food would not break it, and it could
f pierce.



pierce the thickest skulls. Indeed it was like one of Cerberus's teeth: one should not have thought it belonged to a man. — Mr. Addison, I beg your pardon, I should have spoken to you sooner; but I was so struck with the sight of the doctor, that I forgot for a time the respects due to you.

SWIFT. Addison, I think our dispute is decided, before the judge has heard the cause.

ADDISON. I own it is in your favour, and I submit — but —

MERCURY. Do not be discouraged, friend Addison. Apollo perhaps would have given a different judgment. I am a wit, and a rogue, and a foe to all dignity. Swift and I naturally like one another: he worships me more than Jupiter, and I honour him more than Homer: but yet, I assure you, I have a great value for you. — Sir Roger de Coverly, Will Honeycomb, Will Wimble, the country gentleman in the Freeholder, and twenty more characters, drawn with the finest strokes of natural wit and humour in your excellent writings, seat you very high in the class of my authors, though not quite so high as the dean of St. Patrick's. Perhaps you might have come nearer to him, if the decency of your nature and cautiousness of your judgment would have given you leave. But in the force and spirit of his wit he has the advantage, how much does he yield to you in all the polite and elegant graces; in the fine touches of delicate sentiment; in developing the secret springs of the soul; in shewing all the mild lights and shades of a character; in marking distinctly every line, and every soft gradation of tints which would escape the common eye! who ever painted like you the beautiful parts of human nature, and brought them out from under the shade even of the
greatest



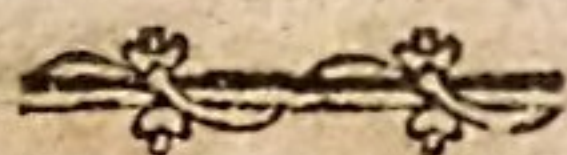
greatest simplicity, or the most ridiculous weaknesses; so that we are forced to admire, and feel that we venerate, even while we are laughing? Swift could do nothing that approaches to this. — He could draw an ill face very well, or caricature a good one with a masterly hand: but there was all his power; and, if I am to speak as a god, a worthless power it is. Your's is divine: it tends to improve and exalt human nature.

SWIFT. Pray, good Mercury, (if I may have leave to say a word for myself) do you think that my talent was of no use to correct human nature? Is whipping of no use to mend naughty boys?

MERCURY. Men are not so patient of whipping as boys, and I seldom have known a rough satirist mend them. But I will allow that you have done some good in that way, though not half so much as Addison did in his. And now you are here, if Pluto and Proserpine would take my advice, they should dispose of you both in this manner: — When any hero comes hither from earth, who wants to be humbled, (as most heroes do) they should set Swift upon him to bring him down. The same good office he may frequently do to a faint swoln too much with the wind of spiritual pride, or to a philosopher, vain of his wisdom and virtue. He will soon shew the first that he cannot be holy without being humble; and the last, that, with all his boasted morality, he is but a better kind of Yahoo. I would also have him apply his anticosmetic wash to the painted face of female vanity, and his rod, which draws blood at every stroke, to the hard back of insolent folly or petulant wit. But you, Mr. Addison, should be employed to comfort and raise the spirits of those

f 2

whose



whose good and noble souls are dejected with a sense of some infirmities in their nature. To them you should hold your fair and charitable mirrour, which would bring to their sight all their hidden perfections, cast over the rest a softening shade, and put them in a temper fit for Elysium. — Adieu: I must now return to my business above.

Sir John Brute, and his Lady.

SIR JOHN solus.

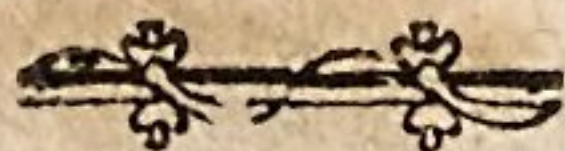
What cloying meat is love, when matrimony's the sauce to it! — Two years marriage has debauched my five senses. Every thing I see, every thing I hear, every thing I feel, every thing I smell, and every thing I taste, methinks, has wife in't. Sure, there's a secret curse entailed upon the very name of wife. My lady is a young lady, a fine lady, a witty lady, a virtuous lady — and yet I hate her. There is but one thing on earth I loath beyond her — and that's fighting. Would my courage come up to a fourth part of my ill-nature, I'd stand buff to her relations, and thrust her out of doors. But marriage has sunk me down to such an ebb of resolution, I dare not draw my sword, tho' even to get rid of my wife. But here she comes.

ENTER LADY BRUTE.

LADY BRUTE. Do you dine at home to-day, Sir John?

SIR JOHN. Why, do you expect I should tell you what I don't know myself?

LADY



LADY BRUTE. I thought there was no harm in asking you.

SIR JOHN. If thinking wrong were an excuse for impertinence, women might be justified in most things they say or do.

LADY BRUTE. I'm sorry I have said any thing to displease you.

SIR JOHN. Sorrow for things past, is of as little importance to me, as my dining at home or abroad ought to be to you.

LADY BRUTE. My inquiry was only that I might have provided what you liked.

SIR JOHN. Six to four, you had been in the wrong there again: for what I liked yesterday, I don't like to - day; and what I like to - day, 'tis odds I mayn't like to morrow.

LADY BRUTE. But if I had asked you what you liked —

SIR JOHN. Why, then there would be more asking about it than the thing is worth.

LADY BRUTE. I wish I did but know how I might please you.

SIR JOHN. Aye; but that sort of knowledge is not a wife's talent.

LADY BRUTE. Whate'er my talent is, I'm sure, my will has ever been to make you easy.

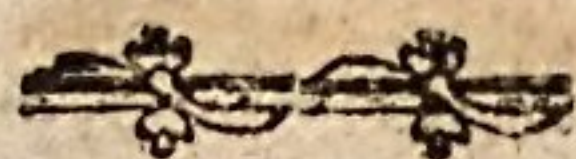
SIR JOHN. If women were to have their wills, the world would be finely govern'd.

LADY BRUTE. What reason have I given you to use me as you do of late? it once was otherwise: you married me for love.

SIR JOHN. And you me for money: so you have your reward, and I have mine.

LADY BRUTE. What is it that disturbs you?

SIR JOHN. A parson.



LADY BRUTE. Why, what has he done to you?

SIR JOHN. He has — married me.

Lady Townly and Lady Grace: on the behaviour of Wives.

LADY T. Oh, my dear Lady Grace! how could you leave me so unmercifully alone all this while?

LADY G. I thought my lord had been with you.

LADY T. Why, yes — and therefore I wanted your relief; for he has been in such a flutter here —

LADY G. Bless me! for what?

LADY T. Only our usual breakfast; we have each of us had our dish of matrimonial comfort this morning — We have been charming company.

LADY G. I am mighty glad of it: sure, it must be a vast happiness, when man and wife can give themselves the same turn of conversation!

LADY T. Oh, the prettiest thing in the world!

LADY G. Now I should be afraid, that where two people are every day together so, they must often be in want of something to talk upon.

LADY T. Oh, my dear, you are the most mistaken in the world! Married people have things to talk of, child, that never enter into the imaginations of others. — Why, here's my lord and I, now, we have not been married above two short years; you know, and we have already eight or ten things constantly in bank, that whenever we want company, we can take up any one of them for two hours together, and the subject never the flatter; nay, if we have occasion for it, it will be as fresh next day too, as it was the first hour it entertained us.

LADY



LADY G. Certainly, that must be vastly pretty.

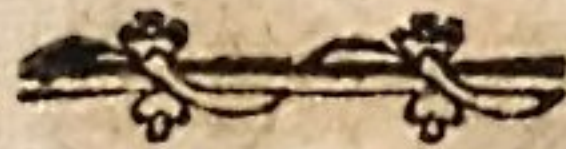
LADY T. Oh, there's no life like it! Why, another day, for example, when you dined abroad, my lord and I, after a pretty chearful chit-chat meal, sat us down by the fireside, in an easy, indolent, pick-tooth way, for about a quarter of an hour, as if we had not thought of any other's being in the room. — At last, stretching himself and yawning — My dear, says he — aw — you came home very late last night — 'Twas but just turned of two, says I — I was in bed — aw — by eleven, says he — So you are every night, says I, .. Well, says he, I am amazed you can sit up so late — How can you be amazed, says I, at a thing that happens so often? — upon which we entered into a conversation; and though this is a point has entertained us above fifty times already, we always find so many pretty new things to say upon it, that I believe in my soul it will last as long as we live.

LADY G. But, pray, in such sort of family dialogues (though extremely well for passing the time) doesn't there now and then enter some little witty sort of bitterness?

LADY T. Oh, yes! which does not do amiss at all. A smart repartee, with a zest of recrimination at the head of it, makes the prettiest sherbet. Ay, ay, if we did not mix a little of the acid with it, a matrimonial society would be so luscious, that nothing but an old liquorish prude would be able to bear it.

LADY G. Well — certainly you have the most elegant taste —

LADY T. Tho', to tell you the truth, my dear, I rather think we squeezed a little too much Lemon into it this bout; for it grew so sour at last, that, I think — I almost told him, he was a fool —



and he again ——— talked something oddly of — turning me out of doors.

LADY G. Oh, have a care of that.

LADY T. Nay, if he should, I may thank my own wise father for it.

LADY G. How so?

LADY T. Why, when my good lord first opened his honourable trenches before me, my unaccountable papa, in whose hands I then was, gave me up at discretion.

LADY G. How do you mean?

LADY T. He said, the wives of this age were come to that pass, that he would not desire, even his own daughter should be trusted with pin-money; so that my whole train of separate inclinations are left entirely at the mercy of a husband's odd humours.

LADY G. Why that, indeed, is enough to make a woman of spirit look about her.

LADY T. Nay, but to be serious, my dear, what would you really have a woman do in my case?

LADY G. Why — if I had a sober husband, as you have, I would make myself the happiest wife in the world, by being as sober as he.

LADY T. Oh, you wicked thing! how can you tease one at this rate, when you know he is so very sober, that (except giving me money) there is not one thing in the world he can do to please me. And I, at the same time, partly by nature, and partly, perhaps, by keeping the best company, do, with my soul, love almost every thing he hates. I doat upon assemblies; my heart bounds at a ball; and, at an opera — I expire. Then, I love play to distraction; cards enchant me — and dice — put me out of my little wits — dear, dear hazard! — Oh, what a flow of spirits it gives one! ——— Do you never play at hazard, child?

LADY



LADY G. Oh, never! I don't think it fits well upon women; there's something so masculine, so much the air of a rake in it. You see how it makes the men swear and curse; and when a woman is thrown into the same passion — why —

LADY T. That's very true; one is a little put to it, sometimes, not to make use of the same words to express it.

LADY G. Well — and, upon ill luck, pray what words are you really forced to make use of?

LADY T. Why, upon a very hard case, indeed, when a sad wrong word is rising just to one's tongue's end, I give a great gulp — and swallow it.

LADY G. Well — and is it not enough to make you forswear play as long as you live?

LADY T. Oh, yes: I have forsworn it.

LADY G. Seriously?

LADY T. Solemnly, a thousand times; but then one is constantly forsworn.

LADY G. And how can you answer that?

LADY T. My dear, what we say when we are losers, we look upon to be no more binding than a lover's oath, or a great man's promise. But I beg pardon, child; I should not lead you so far into the world; you are a prude, and design to live soberly.

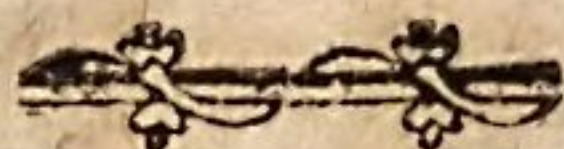
LADY G. Why, I confess, my nature and my education do in a good degree incline me that way.

LADY T. Well, how a woman of spirit (for you don't want that, child) can dream of living soberly, is to me inconceivable; for you will marry, I suppose?

LADY G. I can't tell but I may.

LADY T. And won't you live in town?

LADY G. Half the year, I should like it very well.



LADY T. My stars! and you would really live in London half the year to be sober in it.?

LADY G. Why not?

LADY T. Why, can't you as well go and be sober in the country?

LADY G. So I would — t'other half year.

LADY T. And, pray, what comfortable scheme of life would you form now, for your summer and winter sober entertainments?

LADY G. A scheme that I think might very well content us.

LADY T. Oh, of all things, let's hear it.

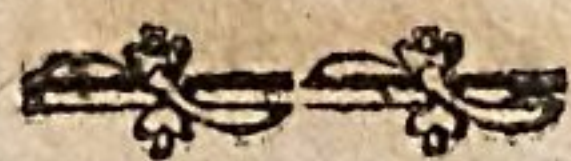
LADY G. Why, in summer, I could pass my leisure hours in riding, in reading, walking by a canal, or sitting at the end of it under a great tree; in dressing, dining, chatting with an agreeable friend; perhaps, hearing a little music, taking a dish of tea, or a game of cards — soberly; managing my family, looking into its accounts, playing with my children, if I had any, or in a thousand other innocent amusements — soberly; and possibly, by these means, I might induce my husband to be as sober as myself.

LADY T. Well, my dear, thou art an astonishing creature! for sure such primitive antediluvian notions of life have not been in any head these thousand years — Under a great tree! — ha! ha! ha! — But I beg we may have the sober town-scheme too — for I am charmed with the country one.

LADY G. You shall, and I'll try to stick to my sobriety there too.

LADY T. Well, though I'm sure it will give me the vapours, I must hear it.

LADY G. Why then, for fear of your fainting, Madam, I will first so far come into the fashion,



fashion, that I would never be dressed out of it — but still it should be soberly; for I can't think it any disgrace to a woman of my private fortune not to wear her lace as fine as the wedding-suit of a first duchess: though there is one extravagance I would venture to come up to.

LADY T. Ay, now for it —

LADY G. I would every day be as clean as a bride.

LADY T. Why, the men say that's a great step to be made one — Well, now you are drest, pray let's see to what purpose?

LADY G. I would visit — that is, my real friends; but as little for form as possible. — I would go to court; sometimes to an assembly; nay, play at quadrille — soberly. I would see all the good plays; and, because 'tis the fashion, now and then to an opera, but I would not expire there — for fear I should never go again: and, lastly, I can't say, but for curiosity, if I liked my company, I might be drawn in once to a masquerade; and this I think, is as far as any woman can go — soberly.

LADY T. Well, if it had not been for that last piece of sobriety, I was just going to call for some surfeit-water.

LADY G. Why, don't you think, with the farther aid of breakfasting, dining, taking the air, supping, sleeping, (not to say a word of devotion) the four and twenty hours might roll over in a tolerable manner?

LADY T. Tolerable! — deplorable. Why, child, all you propose, is but to endure life: now, I want — to enjoy it.





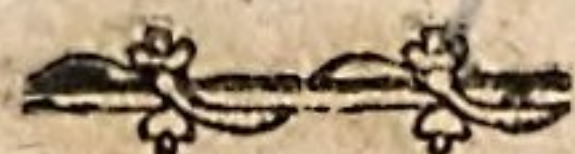
IV.
LETTERS.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,

To the Countess of —.

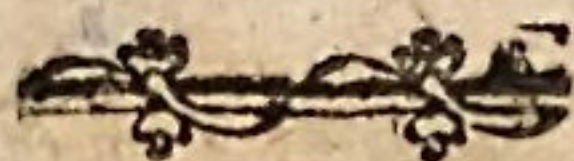
Vienna, Sept. 8, O. S. 1716.

I AM now, my dear sister, safely arrived at Vienna, and I thank God, have not at all suffered in my health, nor (what is dearer to me) in that of my child, by all our fatigues. We travelled by water from Ratisbon, a journey perfectly agreeable, down the Danube, in one of those little vessels, that they, very properly, call wooden houses, having in them all the conveniencies of a palace, stoves in the chambers, kitchens, &c. They are rowed by twelve men each, and with such incredible swiftness, that in the same day you have the pleasure of a vast variety of prospects, and within the space of a few hours you have the pleasure of a populous city, adorned with magnificent palaces, and the most romantic solitudes which appear distant from the commerce of mankind, the banks of the Danube being charmingly diversified with woods, rocks, mountains covered with vines, fields of corn, large cities and ruins of ancient castles. I saw the great towns of Passau and Lintz; famous for the retreat of the Imperial Court, when Vienna was besieged. This town, which has the honour of being the Emperor's residence, did not at all answer my expectation, nor ideas of it, being much less than I expected to find it; the streets are very close, and so narrow, one cannot observe the fine fronts
of



of the palaces, though many of them very well deserve observation, being truly magnificent. They are all built of fine white stone, and are excessive high. For as the town is too little for the number of the people that desire to live in it, the builders seem to have projected to repair that misfortune, by clapping one town on the top of another; most of the houses being of five, and some of them six stories. You may easily imagine that the streets being so narrow, the rooms are extremely dark, and what is an inconveniency much more intolerable in my opinion, there is no house has so few as five or six families in it. The apartments of the greatest ladies, and even of the ministers of state, are divided but by a partition, from that of a taylor or shoe-maker, and I know no body that has above two floors in any house, one for their own use, and one higher for their servants. Those that have houses of their own, let out the rest of them, to whoever will take them, and thus the great stairs (which are all of stone) are as common and as dirty as the street. 'Tis true, when you have once travelled through them, nothing can be more surprizingly magnificent than the apartments. They are commonly a suite of eight or ten large rooms, all inlaid, the doors and windows richly carved and gilt, and the furniture such as is seldom seen in the palaces of sovereign princes in other countries. Their apartments adorned with hangings of the finest tapestry of Brussels, prodigious large looking glasses in silver frames, fine japan tables, beds, chairs, canopies, and window curtains of the richest Genoa damask or velvet, almost covered with gold lace or embroidery. All this is made gay by pictures and vast jars of japan china, and large lustres of rock-crystal. I have already had the ho-

nour



hour of being invited to dinner by several of the first people of quality. And I must do them the justice to say, the good taste and magnificence of their tables very well answer that of their furniture. I have been more than once entertained with different dishes of meat, all served in silver, and well dressed; the dessert proportionable, served in the finest China. But the variety and richness of their wines, is what appears the most surprizing. The constant way is, to lay a list of their names upon the plates of the guests along with the napkins, and I have counted several times, to the number of eighteen different sorts, all exquisite in their kinds. I was yesterday at Count Schœnborn, the Vice-chancellor's garden, where I was invited to dinner. I must own, I never saw a place so perfectly delightful as the Fauxbourg of Vienna. It is very large, and almost wholly composed of delicious palaces. If the Emperor found it proper to permit the gates of the town to be laid open, that the Fauxbourgs might be joined to it, he would have one of the largest and best built cities in Europe. Count Schœnborn's villa is one of the most magnificent; the furniture all rich brocades, so well fancied and fitted up, nothing can look more gay and splendid; not to speak of a gallery, full of rarities of coral, mother of pearl, and throughout the whole house a profusion of gilding, carving, fine paintings, the most beautiful porcelain, statues of alabaster and ivory, and vast orange and lemon trees in gilt pots. The dinner was perfectly fine and well ordered, and made still more agreeable by the good humour of the Count. I have not yet been at court, being forced to stay for my gown, without which there is no waiting on the Empress; though I am not without great impatience to see a
beauty



beauty that has been the admiration of so many different nations. When I have had that honour, I will not fail to let you know my real thoughts, always taking a particular pleasure in communicating them to my dear sister.

From the same to Mr. Pope.

Vienna, Jan. 16, O. S. 1717.

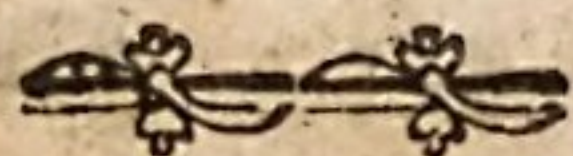
I HAVE not time to answer your letter, being in the hurry of preparing for my journey; but, I think, I ought to bid adieu to my friends with the same solemnity, as if I was going to mount a breach, at least, if I am to believe the information of the people here, who denounce all sorts of terrors to me; and, indeed, the weather is at present such, as very few ever set out in. I am threatened, at the same time, with being frozen to death, buried in the snow, and taken by the Tartars, who ravage that part of Hungary I am to pass. 'Tis true, we shall have a considerable escorte, so that, possibly, I may be diverted with a new scene, by finding myself in the midst of a battle. How my adventures will conclude, I leave entirely to Providence; if comically, you shall hear of them. — Pray be so good as to tell Mr. — I have received his letter. Make him my adieus; if I live, I will answer it. The same compliment to my Lady R —.

From the same, to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. *

Adrianople, April 1, O. S. 1717.

I HAVE now, Madam, finished a journey that has not been undertaken by any Christian, since the

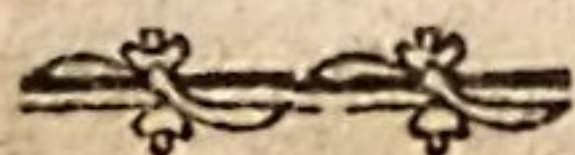
* The late Queen Caroline.



the time of the Greek Emperors; and I shall not regret all the fatigues I have suffered in it, if it gives me an opportunity of amusing your R. H. by an account of places utterly unknown amongst us; the Emperor's Ambassadors, and those few English that have come hither, always going on the Danube to Nicopolis. But the river was now frozen, and Mr. W — was so zealous for the service of his Majesty, that he would not defer his journey to wait for the conveniency of that passage. We crossed the deserts of Servia, almost quite overgrown with wood, though a country naturally fertile. The inhabitants are industrious; but the oppression of the peasants is so great, they are forced to abandon their houses, and neglect their tillage, all they have being a prey to the Janizaries, whenever they please to seize upon it. We had a guard of five hundred of them, and I was almost in tears every day, to see their insolencies in the poor villages through which we passed. — After seven days travelling through thick woods, we came to Nissa, once the capital of Servia, situated in a fine plain on the river Nissava, in a very good air, and so fruitful a soil, that the great plenty is hardly credible. I was certainly assured, that the quantity of wine last vintage was so prodigious, that they were forced to dig holes in the earth to put it in, not having vessels enough in the town to hold it. The happiness of this plenty is scarce perceived by the oppressed people. I saw here a new occasion for my compassion. The wretches that had provided twenty waggons for our baggage from Belgrade hither for a certain hire, being all sent back without payment, some of their horses lamed, and others killed, without any satisfaction for them. The poor fellows came round the house weeping and tearing
their



their hair and beards in a most pitiful manner, without getting any thing but drubs from the insolent soldiers. I cannot express to your R. H. how much I was moved at this scene. I would have paid them the money, out of my own pocket, with all my heart; but it would have been only giving so much to the Aga, who would have taken it from them without any remorse. After four days journey from this place over the mountains, we came to Sophia, a town situated in a large beautiful plain on the river Isca, and surrounded with distant mountains. 'Tis hardly possible to see a more agreeable landscape. The city itself is very large and extremely populous. Here are hot baths, very famous for their medicinal virtues. --- Four days journey from hence we arrived at Philippopolis, after having passed the ridges between the mountains of Haemus and Rhodope, which are always covered with snow. This town is situated on a rising ground, near the river Hebrus, and is almost wholly inhabited by Greeks: here are still some ancient Christian churches. They have a bishop; but they are forced to conceal their wealth with great care: the appearance of poverty (which includes part of its inconveniencies) being all their security against feeling it in earnest. The country from hence to Adrianople, is the finest in the world. Vines grow wild on all the hills, and the perpetual spring they enjoy, makes every thing gay and flourishing. But this climate, happy as it seems, can never be preferred to England, with all its frosts and snows, while we are blessed with an easy government, under a king, who makes his own happiness consist in the liberty of his people, and chooses rather to be looked upon as their father than their master. — This theme would carry me very far, and I am sensible I have already tired out your R.



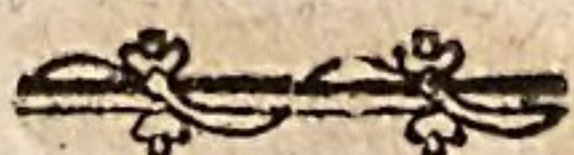
H's patience. But my letter is in your hands, and you may make it as short as you please, by throwing it into the fire, when weary of reading it. I am, Madam,

With the greatest respect.

To the Lady —.

Adrianople, April 1, O.S. 1717.

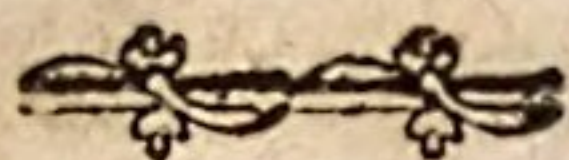
I AM now got into a new world, where every thing I see appears to me a change of scene; and I write to your Ladyship, with some content of mind, hoping, at least, that you will find the charm of novelty in my letters, and no longer reproach me, that I tell you nothing extraordinary. I won't trouble you with a relation of our tedious journey; but I must not omit what I saw remarkable at Sophia, one of the most beautiful towns in the Turkish Empire, and famous for its hot baths, that are resorted to both for diversion and health. I stopp'd here one day, on purpose to see them; and designing to go incognito, I hired a Turkish coach. These voitures are not at all like ours, but much more convenient for the country; the heat being so great that glasses would be very troublesome. They are made a good deal in the manner of the Dutch stage coaches, having wooden lattices painted and gilded; the inside being also painted with baskets and nosegays of flowers, intermixed commonly with little poetical motto's. They are cover'd all over with scarlet cloth, lined with silk, and very often richly embroidered and fringed. This covering entirely hides the persons in them, but may be thrown back at pleasure, and thus permit the ladies to peep through



through the lattices. They hold four people very conveniently, seated on cushions, but not raised.

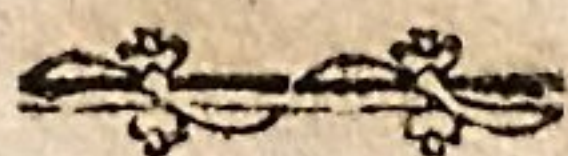
In one of these covered waggons, I went to the Bagnio about ten o'clock. It was already full of women. It is built of stone, in the shape of a dome, with no windows but in the roof, which gives light enough. There were five of these domes joining together, the outmost being less than the rest, and serving only as a hall, where the Portress stood at the door. Ladies of quality give this woman a crown or ten shillings, and I did not forget that ceremony. The next room is a very large one, paved with marble, and all round it are two raised sofas of marble, one above another. There were four fountains of cold water in this room, falling first into marble basins, and then running on the floor in little channels made for that purpose, which carried the streams into the next room, something less than this, with the same sort of marble sofas, but so hot with steams of sulphur, proceeding from the baths joining to it, 'twas impossible to stay there with one's clothes on. The two other domes were the hot baths, one of which had cocks of cold water turning into it, to temper it to what degree of warmth the bathers pleased to have.

I was in my travelling habit, which is a riding dress, and certainly appeared very extraordinary to them. Yet there was not one of them that shewed the least surprize or impertinent curiosity, but received me with all the obliging civility possible. I know no European court, where the ladies would have behaved themselves in so polite a manner to such a stranger. I believe, upon the whole, there were two hundred women, and yet none of those disdainful smiles, and satirical whispers, that never fail in our assemblies, when any body appears that is not dressed



fed exactly in the fashion. They repeated over and over to me : “UZELLE, PEK UZELLE”, which is nothing but “charming, very charming”. — The first sofas were covered with cushions and rich carpets, on which sat the ladies; and on the second, their slaves behind them, but without any distinction of rank by their dress, all being in the state of nature, that is, in plain English, stark naked, without any beauty or defect concealed. Yet there was not the least wanton smile or immodest gesture amongst them. They walked and moved with the same majestic grace, which Milton describes our General Mother with. There were many amongst them, as exactly proportioned as ever any Goddess was drawn by the pencil of a Guido or Titian, — and most of their skins shiningly white, only adorned by their beautiful hair, divided into many tresses, hanging on their shoulders; braided either with pearl or ribbon, perfectly representing the figures of the Graces.

I was here convinced of the truth of a reflection I have often made, that if it were the fashion to go naked, the face would be hardly observed. I perceived that the ladies of the most delicate skins and finest shapes, had the greatest share of my admiration, though their faces were sometimes less beautiful than those of their companions. To tell you the truth, I had wickedness enough to wish secretly, that Mr. Gervais could have been there invisible. I fancy it would have very much improved his art, to see so many fine women naked in different postures, some in conversation, some working, others drinking coffee or sherbet; and many negligently lying on their cushions, while their slaves (generally pretty girls of seventeen or eighteen) were employed in braiding their hair
in



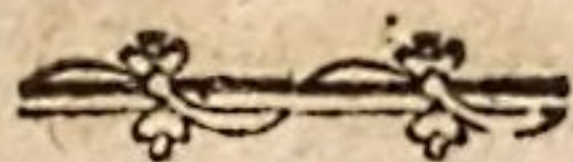
in several pretty fancies. In short, 'tis the woman's coffee-house, where all the news of the town is told, scandal invented, &c. — They generally take this diversion once a week, and stay there at least four or five hours, without getting cold, by immediate coming out of the hot-bath into the cool room, which was very surprizing to me. The lady, that seemed the most considerable among them, entreated me to sit by her, and would fain have undressed me for the bath. I excused myself with some difficulty. They being however all so earnest in persuading me, I was at last forced to open my shirt, and shew them my stays, which satisfied them very well; for, I saw, they believed I was locked up in that machine, and that it was not in my own power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to my husband. — I was charmed with their civility and beauty, and should have been very glad to pass more time with them; but Mr. W—— resolving to pursue his journey next morning early, I was in haste to see the ruins of Justinian's church, which did not afford me so agreeable a prospect as I had left, being little more than a heap of stones.

Adieu, Madam, I am sure, I have now entertained you with an account of such a sight, as you never saw in your life, and what no book of travels could inform you of, as 'tis no less than death for a man to be found in one of these places.

To Mr. Pope.

Adrianople, April 1, O. S.

I DARE say you expect, at least, something very new in this letter, after I have gone a journey, not undertaken, by any Christian, for some



hundred years. The most remarkable accident that happened to me, was my being very near overturned into the Hebrus; and, if I had much regard for the glories that one's name enjoys after death, I should certainly be sorry for having missed the romantic conclusion of swimming down the same river in which the musical head of Orpheus repeated verses, so many ages since:

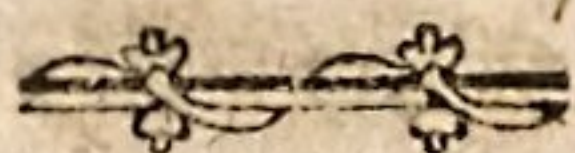
„Caput a cervice revulsum
 „Gurgite cum medio portans Oeagrius Hebrus
 „Volveret, Eurydicen vox ipsa, & frigida lingua
 „Ah! miseram Eurydicen! anima fugiente vocabat,
 „Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripæ“.

Who knows but some of your right wits might have found it a subject affording many poetical turns, and have told the world in an heroic Elegy, that,

As equal were our souls, so equal were our fates.

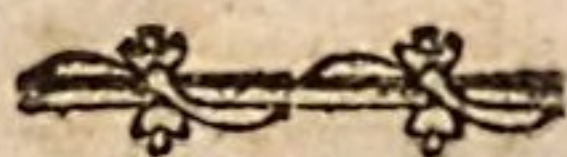
I despair of ever hearing so many fine things said of me, as so extraordinary a death would have given occasion for.

I am at this present moment writing in a house situated on the banks of the Hebrus, which runs under my chamber-window. My garden is full of tall cypress-trees, upon the branches of which, several couple of true turtles are saying soft things to one another from morning till night. How naturally do boughs and vows come into my mind, at this minute! And must not you confess, to my praise, that 'tis more than an ordinary discretion, that can resist the wicked suggestions of poetry, in a place where truth, for once, furnishes all the ideas of pastoral. The summer is already far advanced, in this part of the world; and for some miles round Adrianople, the whole ground is laid out in gardens,



gardens, and the banks of the rivers are set with rows of fruit-trees, under which all the most considerable Turks divert themselves every evening, not with walking, that is not one of their pleasures; but a set party of them choose out a green spot, where the shade is very thick, and there they spread a carpet, on which they sit drinking their coffee, and are generally attended by some slave with a fine voice, or that plays on some instrument. Every twenty paces you may see one of these little companies, listening to the dashing of the river; and this taste is so universal, that the very gardeners are not without it. I have often seen them and their children sitting on the banks of the river, and playing on a rural instrument, perfectly answering the description of the ancient Fistula, being composed of unequal reeds, with a simple but agreeable softness in the sound.

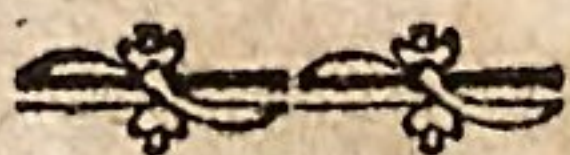
Mr. Addison might here make the experiment he speaks of in his travels; there not being one instrument of music among the Greek or Roman statues, that is not to be found in the hands of the people of this country. The young lads generally divert themselves with making garlands for their favourite lambs, which I have often seen painted and adorned with flowers, lying at their feet, while they sung or played. It is not that they ever read Romances. But these are the ancient amusements here, and as natural to them as cudgel-playing and foot-ball to our British swains; the softness and warmth of the climate forbidding all rough exercises, which were never so much as heard of amongst them, and naturally inspiring a laziness and aversion to labour, which the great plenty indulges. These gardeners are the only happy race of country-people in Turkey. They furnish all the city with



fruits and herbs, and seem to live very easily. They are most of them Greeks, and have little houses in the midst of their gardens, where their wives and daughters take a liberty not permitted in the town, I mean, to go unveiled. These wenches are very neat and handsome, and pass their time at their looms under the trees.

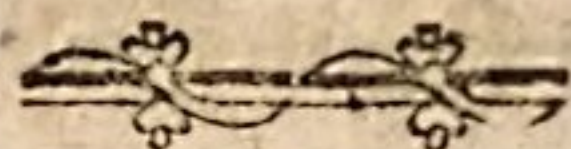
I no longer look upon Theocritus as a romantic writer; he has only given a plain image of the way of life amongst the peasants of his country, who, before oppression had reduced them to want, were, I suppose, all employed as the better sort of them are now. I don't doubt, had he been born a Briton, but his Idyllium had been filled with descriptions of threshing and churning, both which are unknown here, the corn being all trod out by oxen; and butter (I speak it with sorrow) unheard of.

I read over your Homer here with an infinite pleasure, and find several little passages explained, that I did not before entirely comprehend the beauty of: many of the customs, and much of the dress then in fashion, being yet retained. I don't wonder to find more remains here, of an age so distant, than is to be found in any other country, the Turks not taking that pains to introduce their own manners, as has been generally practised by other nations, that imagine themselves more polite. It would be too tedious to you to point out all the passages that relate to present customs. But I can assure you, that the Princesses and great ladies pass their time at their looms, embroidering veils and robes, surrounded by their maids, which are always very numerous, in the same manner as we find Andromache and Helen described. The description of the belt of Menelaus exactly resembles those that are now worn by the great men, fastened before with
broad



broad golden clasps , and embroidered round with rich work. The snowy veil , that Helem throws over her face , is still fashionable ; and I never see half a dozen of old Bashaws (as I do very often) with their reverend beards , sitting basking in the sun , but I recollect good King Priam and his counsellors. Their manner of dancing is certainly the same that Diana is sung to have danced on the banks of Eurotas. The great lady still leads the dance , and is followed by a troop of young girls , who imitate her steps , and if she sings , make up the chorus. The tunes are extremely gay and lively , yet with something in them wonderfully soft. The steps are varied according to the pleasure of her that leads the dance , but always in exact time , and infinitely more agreeable than any of our dances , at least in my opinion. I sometimes make one in the train , but am not skilful enough to lead : these are the Grecian dances ; the Turkish being very different.

I should have told you , in the first place , that the Eastern manners give a great light into many scripture passages , that appear odd to us , their phrases being commonly what we should call Scripture-language. The vulgar Turk is very different from what is spoke at court , or amongst the people of figure ; who always mix so much Arabic and Persian in their discourse , that it may very well be called another language. And 'tis as ridiculous to make use of the expressions commonly used , in speaking to a great man or lady , as it would be to speak broad Yorkshire , or Somersetshire , in the drawing-room. Besides this distinction , they have what they call the sublime , that is , a stile proper for poetry , and which is the exact Scripture-stile. I believe you would be pleased to see a genuine example of this ; and I am very glad I have it in



my power to satisfy your curiosity, by sending you a faithful copy of the verses that Ibrahim Bassa, the reigning favourite, has made for the young Princess, his contracted wife, whom he is not yet permitted to visit without witnesses, though she is gone home to his house. He is a man of wit and learning; and whether or no he is capable of writing good verse, you may be sure that, on such an occasion, he would not want the assistance of the best poets in the empire. Thus the verses may be looked upon as a sample of their finest poetry, and I don't doubt you'll be of my mind, that it is most wonderfully resembling the Song of Solomon, which also was addressed to a Royal Bride.

TURKISH VERSES addressed to the SULTANA,
 eldest daughter of SULTAN ACHMET III.

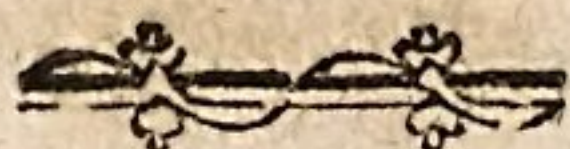
STANZA I.

- Ver. The nightingale now wanders in the vines;
1. Her passion is to seek roses.
 2. I went down to admire the beauty of the vines;
The sweetness of your charms has ravish'd my soul.
 3. Your eyes are black and lovely,
But wild and disdainful as those of the stag.

STANZA II.

1. The wished possession is delayed from day to day:
The cruel Sultan ACHMET will not permit me
To see those cheeks more vermillion than roses.
2. I dare not snatch one of your kisses,
The sweetness of your charms has ravish'd my soul.
3. Your eyes are black and lovely,
But wild and disdainful as those of a stag.

STANZA



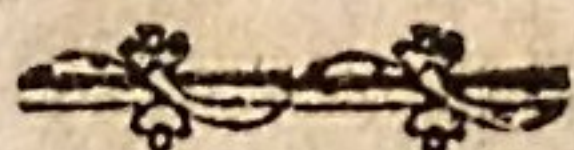
S T A N Z A III.

1. The wretched IBRAHIM sighs in these verses,
One dart from your eyes has pierc'd thro' my heart.
2. Ah! when will the hour of possession arrive?
Must I yet wait a long time?
The sweetness of your charms has ravish'd my soul.
3. Ah! SULTANA! stag-ey'd — an angel amongst angels!
I desire, and, my desire remains unsatisfied.
Can you take delight to prey upon my heart?

S T A N Z A IV.

1. My cries pierce the heavens!
My eyes are without sleep!
Turn to me, SULTANA — let me gaze on thy beauty.
2. I die — I go down to the grave.
If you call me — I return.
My heart is — hot as sulphur; — sigh, and it will
flame.
3. Crown of my life, fair light of my eyes!
My SULTANA! my princess!
I rub my face against the earth; — I am drown'd in
scalding tears — I rave!
Have you no compassion? will you not turn to look
upon me?

I have taken abundance of pains to get these verses in a literal translation; and if you were acquainted with my interpreters, I might spare myself the trouble of assuring you, that they have received no poetical touches from their hands. In my opinion, (allowing for the inevitable faults of a prose translation into a language so very different) there is a good deal of beauty in them. The epithet of “stag-ey'd,” (though the sound is not very agreeable in English) pleases me extremely; and I think it a very lively image of the fire and indifference in his mistress's eyes. — Monsieur Boileau has very justly observed, that we are never to judge of the elevation

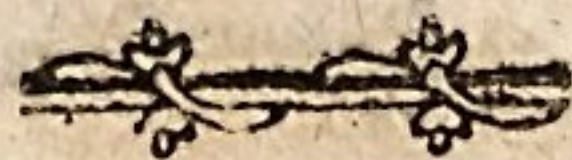


vation of an expression in an ancient author by the sound it carries with us: since it may be extremely fine with them, when, at the same time, it appears low or uncouth to us. You are so well acquainted with Homer, you cannot but have observed the same thing, and you must have the same indulgence for all Oriental poetry. The repetitions at the end of the two first stanzas are meant for a sort of Chorus, and are agreeable to the ancient manner of writing. The music of the verses apparently changes in the third Stanza, where the Burden is altered; and I think he very artfully seems more passionate at the conclusion, as 'tis natural for people to warm themselves by their own discourse, especially on a subject in which one is deeply concerned; 'tis certainly far more touching, than our modern custom of concluding a song of passion, with a turn which is inconsistent with it. The first verse is a description of the season of the year; all the country now being full of Nightingales, whose amours with roses, is an Arabian fable, as well known here, as any part of Ovid amongst us, and is much the same as if an English poem should begin, by saying: — "Now Philomela sings." Or what if I turned the whole into the stile of English poetry, to see how it would look?

S T A N Z A I.

NOW Philomel renews her tender strain,
 Indulging all the night her pleasing pain;
 I sought the groves to hear the wanton sing.
 There saw a face more beauteous than the spring,
 Your large stag-eyes where thousand glories play
 As bright, as lively, but as wild as they.

STANZA



S T A N Z A II.

In vain I'm promis'd such a heav'nly prize.
Ah! cruel SULTAN! who delay'st my joys!
While piercing charms transfix my amorous heart,
I dare not snatch one kiss, to ease the smart.
Those eyes like, &c.

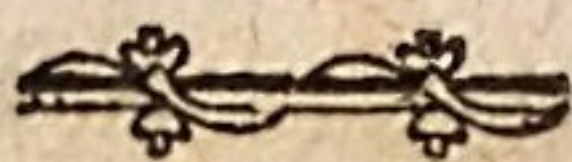
S T A N Z A III.

Your wretched lover in these lines complains;
From those dear beauties rise his killing pains.
When will the hour of wish'd-for bliss arrive?
Must I wait longer? — Can I wait and live?
Ah! bright Sultana! maid divinely fair!
Can you, unpitying see the pains I bear?

S T A N Z A IV.

The Heavens relenting hear my piercing cries.
I loath the light, and sleep forsakes my eyes:
Turn thee, Sultana, ere thy lover dies!
Sinking to earth, I sigh the last adieu,
Call me, my Goddess, and my life renew.
My Queen! my angel! my fond heart's desire!
I rave — my bosom burns with heav'nly fire!
Pity that passion which thy charms inspire.

I have taken the liberty in the second verse, of following what I suppose the true sense of the author, though not literally expressed. By his saying, he went down to admire the beauty of the vines, and her charms ravished his soul; I understand a poetical fiction, of having first seen her in a garden, where he was admiring the beauty of spring. But I could not forbear retaining the comparison of her eyes with those of a stag, though perhaps the novelty of it may give it a burlesque sound in our language. I cannot determine upon the whole, how well I have succeeded in the translation, neither do



I think our English proper to express such violence of passion, which is very seldom felt amongst us. We want, also, those compound words which are very frequent and strong in the Turkish language.

You see I am pretty far gone in Oriental learning, and to say truth, I study very hard. I wish my studies may give me an occasion of entertaining your curiosity, which will be the utmost advantage hoped for from them, by,

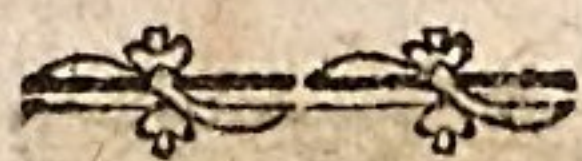
Your's, &c.

To Mrs. S. C.

Adrianople, April 1, O. S.

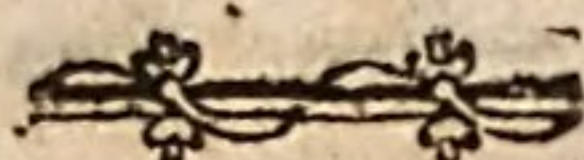
IN My opinion, dear S. I ought rather to quarrel with you for not answering my Nimeguen letter of August, till December, than to excuse my not writing again till now. I am sure there is on my side a very good excuse for silence, having gone such tiresome land-journies, though I don't find the conclusion of them so bad as you seem to imagine. I am very easy here, and not in the solitude you fancy me. The great number of Greeks, French, English, and Italians, that are under our protection, make their court to me from morning till night; and, I'll assure you, are, many of them, very fine ladies; for there is no possibility for a Christian to live easily under this government, but by the protection of an Ambassador — and the richer they are, the greater is their danger.

Those dreadful stories you have heard of the plague, have very little foundation in truth. I own, I have much ado to reconcile myself to the sound of a word, which has always given me such terrible ideas; though I am convinced there is little more in it, than in a fever. As a proof of this, let



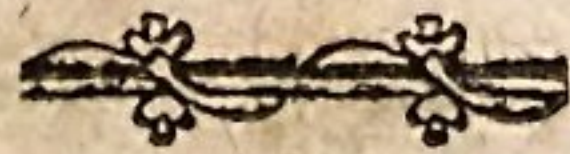
let me tell you, that we passed through two or three towns most violently infected. In the very next house where we lay (in one of those places) two persons died of it. Luckily for me, I was so well deceived, that I knew nothing of the matter; and I was made to believe, that our second cook had only a great cold. However, we left our doctor to take care of him, and yesterday they both arrived here in good health; and I am now let into the secret, that he has had the plague. There are many that escape it, neither is the air ever infected. I am persuaded that it would be as easy a matter to root it out here, as out of Italy and France: but it does so little mischief, they are not very solicitous about it, and are content to suffer this distemper, instead of our variety, which they are utterly unacquainted with.

A propos of distempers, I am going to tell you a thing that will make you wish yourself here. The small pox, so fatal, and so general amongst us, is here entirely harmless, by the invention of engrafting, which is the term they give it. There is a set of old women, who make it their business to perform the operation, every autumn, in the month of September, when the great heat is abated. People send to one another to know if any of their family has a mind to have the small pox; they make parties for this purpose, and when they are met (commonly fifteen or sixteen together) the old woman comes with a nut-shell full of the matter of the best sort of small-pox, and asks what vein you please to have opened. She immediately rips open that you offer to her, with a large needle (which gives you no more pain than a common scratch) and puts into the vein, as much matter as can lie upon the head of her needle, and after that, binds up the little wound with a hollow bit of shell, and in this manner opens four or five veins. The
Gre-



Grecians have commonly the superstition of opening one in the middle of the forehead, one in each arm, and one on the breast, to mark the sign of the Cross; but this has a very ill effect, all these wounds leaving little scars, and is not done by those that are not superstitious, who chuse to have them in the legs, or that part of the arm that is concealed. The children or young patients play together all the rest of the day, and are in perfect health to the eighth. Then the fever begins to seize them, and they keep their beds two days, very seldom three. They have very rarely above twenty or thirty in their faces, which never mark, and in eight days time they are well as before their illness. Where they are wounded, there remains running sores during the distemper, which I don't doubt is a great relief to it. Every year, thousands undergo this operation, and the French Ambassador says pleasantly, that they take the small-pox here by way of diversion, as they take the waters in other countries. There is no example of any one that has died in it, and you may believe I am well satisfied of the safety of this experiment, since I intend to try it on my dear little son. I am patriot enough to take pains to bring this useful invention into fashion in England, and I should not fail to write to some of our doctors very particularly about it, if I knew any one of them that I thought had virtue enough to destroy such a considerable branch of their revenue, for the good of mankind. But that distemper is too beneficial to them, not to expose to all their resentment, the hardy wight that should undertake to put an end to it. Perhaps if I live to return I may, however, have courage to war with them. Upon this occasion, admire the heroism in the heart of,

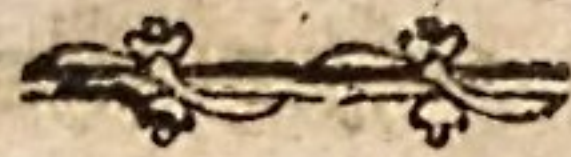
Your friend, &c. &c.



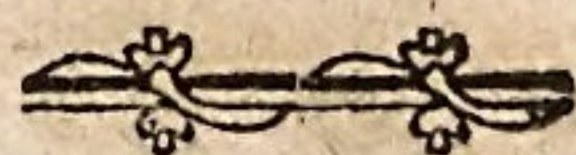
To Mrs. T.

Adrianople, April 1, O. S. 1718.

I CAN now tell dear Mrs. T—, that I am safely arrived at the end of my very long journey. I will not tire you with the account of the many fatigues I have suffered. You would rather be informed of the strange things that are to be seen here; and a letter out of Turkey, that has nothing extraordinary in it, would be as great a disappointment as my visitors will receive at London, if I return thither without any rarities to shew them. — What shall I tell you of? — You never saw camels in your life; and perhaps the description of them will appear new to you; I can assure you, the first sight of them was so to me: and though I have seen hundreds of pictures of those animals, I never saw any that was resembling enough to give a true idea of them. I am going to make a bold observation, and possibly a false one, because nobody has ever made it before me; but I do take them to be of the stag-kind: their legs, bodies, and necks, are exactly shaped like them, and their colour very near the same. 'Tis true, they are much larger, being a great deal higher than a horse, and so swift, that, after the defeat of Peterwaradin, they far out-ran the swiftest horses, and brought the first news of the loss of the battle to Belgrade. They are never thoroughly tamed; the drivers take care to tie them one to another with strong ropes, fifty in a string, led by an ass, on which the driver rides. I have seen three hundred in one caravan. They carry the third part more than a horse; but 'tis a particular art to load them, because of the bunch of their backs. They seem to me very ugly creatures, their heads being ill formed and disproportioned to their bodies. They carry all
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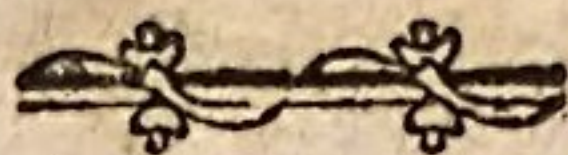


the burdens, and the beasts destined to the plough are buffaloes, an animal you are also unacquainted with. They are larger and more clumsy than an ox; they have short thick black horns close to their heads, which grow turning backwards. They say, this horn looks very beautiful when 'tis well polished. They are all black, with very short hair on their hides, and have extremely little white eyes, that make them look like devils. The country - people dye their tails, and the hair of their forehead red, by way of ornament. Horses are not put here to any laborious work, nor are they at all fit for it. They are beautiful and full of spirit, but generally little, and not strong, as the breed of colder countries; very gentle, however, with all their vivacity, and also swift and surefooted. I have a little white favourite, that I would not part with on any terms; he prances under me with so much fire, you would think that I had a great deal of courage to dare mount him; yet I'll assure you I never rid a horse so much at my command, in my life. My side - saddle is the first that was ever seen in this part of the world, and is gazed at with as much wonder as the ship of Columbus in the first discovery of America. Here are some little birds, held in a sort of religious reverence, and for that reason multiply prodigiously; Turtles, on the account of their innocence; and Storks, because they are supposed to make every winter the pilgrimage to Mecca. To say truth, they are the happiest subjects under the Turkish government, and are so sensible of their privileges, that they walk the streets without fear, and generally build in the low parts of houses. Happy are those whose houses are so distinguished, as the vulgar Turks are perfectly persuaded, that they will not be, that year, attacked either by fire or pestilence.

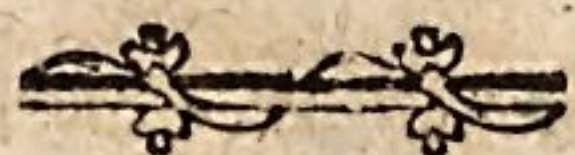


I have the happiness of one of their sacred nests under my chamber - window.

Now I am talking of my chamber, I remember, the description of the houses here will be as new to you, as any of the birds or beasts. I suppose you have read in most of our accounts of Turkey, that their houses are the most miserable pieces of building in the world. I can speak very learnedly on that subject, having been in so many of them; and I assure you, 'tis no such thing, We are now lodged in a palace, belonging to the Grand Signior. I really think the manner of building here very agreeable, and proper for the country. Tis true, they are not at all solicitous to beautify the outsides of their houses, and they are generally built with wood, which, I own, is the cause of many inconveniencies; but this is not to be charged on the ill taste of the people, but on the oppression of the government. Every house at the death of its master, is at the Grand Signior's disposal, and therefore no man cares to make a great expence, which he is not sure his family will be the better for. All their design is to build a house commodious, and that will last their lives; and they are very indifferent if it falls down the year after. Every house, great and small, is divided into two distinct parts, which only join together by a narrow passage. The first house has a large court before it, and open galleries all round it, which is, to me, a thing very agreeable. This gallery leads to all the Chambers, which are commonly large, and with two rows of windows, the first being of painted glass; they seldom build above two stories, each of which has galleries. The stairs are broad, and not often above thirty steps. This is the house belonging to the lord, and the adjoining one is called the Haram,

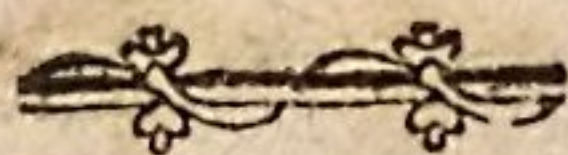


that is, the ladies' apartment, (for the name of *seraglio* is peculiar to the Grand Signior); it has also a gallery running round it towards the garden, to which all the windows are turned, and the same number of chambers as the other, but more gay and splendid, both in painting and furniture. The second row of windows are very low, with grates like those of convents, the rooms are all spread with Persian carpets, and raised at one end of them (my chambers are raised at both ends) about two feet. This is the *Sopha*, which is laid with a richer sort of carpet, and all round it a sort of couch raised half a foot, covered with rich silk according to the fancy or magnificence of the owner. Mine is of scarlet cloth with a gold fringe; round about this are placed, standing against the wall, two rows of cushions, the first very large, and the rest little ones; and here the Turks display their greatest magnificence. They are generally brocade, or embroidery of gold-wire upon white satin. — Nothing can look more gay and splendid. — These seats are also so convenient and easy, that I believe I shall never endure chairs as long as I live. — The rooms are low, which I think no fault, and the ceiling is always of wood, generally inlaid or painted with flowers. They open in many places with folding doors, and serve for cabinets, I think more conveniently than ours. Between the windows are little arches to set pots of perfume, or baskets of flowers. But what pleases me best, is the fashion of having marble fountains in the lower part of the room, which throw up several spouts of water, giving, at the same time, an agreeable coolness, and a pleasant dashing sound, falling from one basin to another. Some of these are very magnificent. Each house has a *bagnio*, which consists generally in two or three little rooms
leaded



leaded on the top, paved with marble, with basons, cocks of water, and all conveniences for either hot or cold baths.

You will perhaps be surprized at an account so different from what you have been entertained with by the common voyage-writers, who are very fond of speaking of what they don't know. It must be under a very particular character, or on some extraordinary occasion, that a Christian is admitted into the house of a man of quality: and their Harams are always forbidden ground. Thus they can only speak of the outside, which makes no great appearance; and the womens apartments are always built backward, removed from sight, and have no other prospect than the gardens, which are inclosed with very high walls. There is none of our parterres in them; but they are planted with high trees, which give an agreeable shade, and, to my fancy, a pleasing view. In the midst of the garden is the Chiosk, that is, a large room, commonly beautified with a fine fountain in the midst of it. It is raised nine or ten steps, and inclosed with gilded lattices, round which, vines, jessamines, and honeysuckles, make a sort of green wall. Large trees are planted round this place, which is the scene of their greatest pleasures, and where the ladies spend most of their hours, employed by their musick or embroidery. — In the public gardens, there are public Chiosks, where people go, that are not so well accommodated at home, and drink their coffee, sherbet, &c. Neither are they ignorant of a more durable manner of building; their mosques are all of free-stone, and the public Hanns, or Inns, extremely magnificent, many of them taking up a large square, built round with shops under stone arches, where poor artificers are lodged gratis.



tis. They have always a mosque joining to them, and the body of the Hann is a most noble hall, capable of holding three or four hundred persons, the court extremely spacious, and cloisters round it, that give it the air of our colleges. I own, I think it a more reasonable piece of charity than the founding of convents. — I think I have now told you a great deal for once. If you don't like my choice of subjects, tell me what you would have me write upon; there is nobody more desirous to entertain you than, dear Mrs. T.

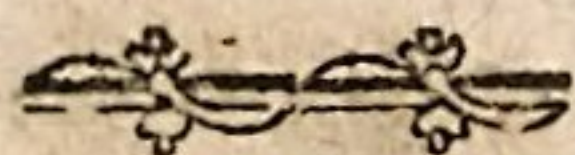
Your's, &c. &c.

To the Countess of —.

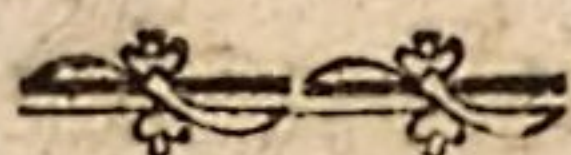
Adrianople, April 18, O.S.

I WROTE to you, dear sister, and to all my other English correspondents, by the last ship, and only Heaven can tell, when I shall have another opportunity of sending to you; but I cannot forbear to write again, though perhaps my letter may lye upon my hands these two months. To confess the truth, my head is so full of my entertainment yesterday, that 'tis absolutely necessary, for my own repose, to give it some vent. Without farther preface I will then begin my story.

I was invited to dine with the Grand Vizier's lady, and it was with a great deal of pleasure I prepared myself for an entertainment, which was never before given to any Christian. I thought I should very little satisfy her curiosity, (which I did not doubt was a considerable motive to the invitation) by going in a dress she was used to see, and therefore dressed myself in the court habit of Vienna, which

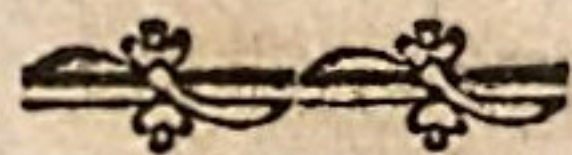


which is much more magnificent than ours. However, I chose to go incognito, to avoid any disputes about ceremony, and went in a Turkish coach only attended by my woman, that held up my train, and the Greek lady, who was my interpreter. I was met, at the court door, by her black Eunuch, who helped me out of the coach with great respect, and conducted me through several rooms, where her she-slaves, finely dressed, were ranged on each side. In the innermost, I found the lady sitting on her sofa, in a sable vest. She advanced to meet me, and presented me half a dozen of her friends, with great civility. She seemed a very good woman, near fifty years old. I was surprized to observe so little magnificence in her house, the furniture being all very moderate; and, except the habits and number of her slaves, nothing about her appeared expensive. She guessed at my thoughts, and told me, she was no longer of an age to spend either her time or money in superfluities, that her whole expence was in charity, and her whole employment praying to God. There was no affectation in this speech; both she and her husband are entirely given up to devotion. He never looks upon any other woman; and what is much more extraordinary, touches no bribes, notwithstanding the example of all his predecessors. He is so scrupulous in this point, he would not accept M. W—'s present, till he had been assured over and over, that it was a settled perquisite of his place, at the entrance of every Ambassador. She entertained me with all kind of civility, till dinner came in, which was served, one dish at a time, to a vast number, all finely dressed after their manner, which I don't think so bad as you have perhaps heard it represented. I am a very good judge of their eating, having lived three weeks

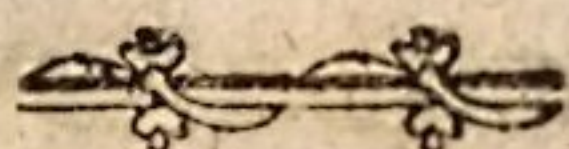


weeks in the house of an Effendi at Belgrade, who gave us very magnificent dinners, dressed by his own cooks. The first week they pleased me extremely; but, I then begun to grow weary of their table, and desired our own cook might add a dish or two after our manner. But I attribute this to custom, and am very much inclined to believe that an Indian who had never tasted of either, would prefer their cookery to ours. Their sauces are very high, all the roast very much done. They use a great deal of very rich spice. The soup is served for the last dish; and they have, at least, as great a variety of ragouts, as we have. I was very sorry I could not eat of as many as the good lady would have had me, who was very earnest in serving me of every thing. The treat concluded with coffee and perfumes, which is a high mark of respect; two slaves kneeling censured my hair, clothes, and handkerchief. After this ceremony, she commanded her slaves to play and dance, which they did with their guitars in their hands, and she excused to me their want of skill, saying she took no care to accomplish them in that art.

I returned her thanks, and soon after took my leave. I was conducted back in the same manner I entered, and would have gone straight to my own house: but the Greek lady, with me, earnestly solicited me to visit the Kahya's lady, saying, he was the second officer in the Empire, and ought indeed to be looked upon as the first, the Grand Vizier having only the name, while he exercised the authority. I had found so little diversion in the Vizier's Haram, that I had no mind to go into another. But her importunity prevailed me, and I am extremely glad I was so complaisant. All things here were with quite another air than at the Grand Vi-



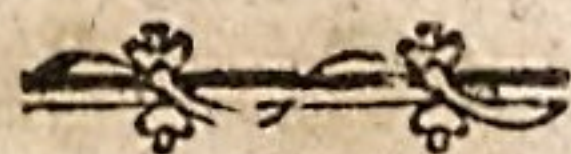
Vizier's; and the very house confessed the difference between an old devotee, and a young beauty. It was nicely clean and magnificent. I was met at the door by two black Eunuchs, who led me through a long gallery, between two ranks of beautiful young girls, with their hair finely plaited, almost hanging to their feet, and dressed in fine light damasks, brocaded with silver. I was sorry that decency did not permit me to stop to consider them nearer. But that thought was lost upon my entrance into a large room, or rather pavilion, built round with gilded fashies, which were most of them thrown up, and the trees planted near them gave an agreeable shade, which hindered the sun from being troublesome. The jessamines and honey-suckles that twisted round their trunks, shed a soft perfume, increased by a white marble fountain playing sweet water in the lower part of the room, which fell into three or four basons, with a pleasing sound. The roof was painted with all sorts of flowers, falling out of gilded baskets, that seemed tumbling down. On a sofa, raised three steps, and covered with fine Persian carpets, sat the Kahya's lady, leaning on cushions of white satin embroidered; and at her feet sat two young girls about twelve years old, lovely as angels, dressed perfectly rich, and almost covered with jewels. But they were hardly seen near the fair Fatima, (for that is her name) so much her beauty effaced every thing I have seen, nay, all that has been called lovely; either in England or Germany. I must own, that I never saw any thing so gloriously beautiful, nor can I recollect a face that would have been taken notice of near her's. She stood up to receive me, saluting me, after their fashion, putting her hand to her heart with a sweetness full of majesty, that no court breeding could



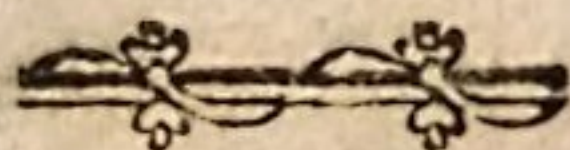
ever give. She ordered cushions to be given me, and took care to place me in the corner, which is the place of honour. I confess, though the Greek lady had before given me a great opinion of her beauty, I was so struck with admiration, that I could not, for some time, speak to her, being wholly taken up in gazing. That surprizing harmony of features! That charming result of the whole! That exact proportion of body! That lovely bloom of complexion unfullied by art! The unutterable enchantment of her smile! — But her eyes! — Large and black, with all the soft languishment of the blue! every turn of her face discovering some new grace!

After my first surprize was over, I endeavoured by nicely examining her face, to find out some imperfection, without any fruit of my search, but my being clearly convinced of the error of that vulgar notion, that a face exactly proportioned, and perfectly beautiful, would not be agreeable; nature having done for her, with more success, what Apelles is said to have essayed by a collection of the most exact features to form a perfect face. Add to all this a behaviour so full of grace and sweetness, such easy motions with an air so majestic, yet free from stiffness or affectation, that I am persuaded, could she be suddenly transported upon the most polite throne of Europe, no body would think her other than born and bred to be a Queen, though educated in a country we call barbarous. To say all in a word, our most celebrated English beauties would vanish near her.

She was dressed in a Castan of gold brocade, flowered with silver, very well fitted to her shape, and shewing to admiration the beauty of her bosom, only shaded by the thin gauze of her shift. Her drawers were pale pink, her waistcoat green and
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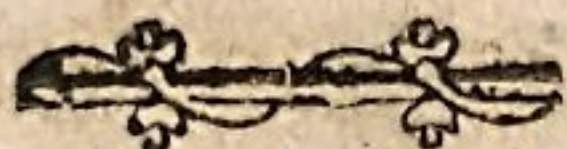


silver, her slippers white satin, finely embroidered; her lovely arms adorned with bracelets of diamonds, and her broad girdle set round with diamonds; upon her head a rich Turkish handkerchief of pink and silver, her own fine black hair hanging a great length, in various tresses, and on one side of her head some bodkins of jewels. I am afraid you will accuse me of extravagance in this description. I think I have read somewhere, that women always speak in rapture, when they speak of beauty, and I cannot imagine why they should not be allowed to do so. I rather think it a virtue to be able to admire without any mixture of desire or envy. The gravest writers have spoke with great warmth of some celebrated pictures and statues. The workmanship of heaven certainly excels all our weak imitations, and, I think, has a much better claim to our praise. For my part, I am not ashamed to own, I took more pleasure in looking on the beauteous Fatima, than the finest piece of sculpture could have given me. She told me the two girls at her feet were her daughters, tho'she appeared too young to be their mother. Her fair maids were ranged below the sofa, to the number of twenty, and put me in mind of the pictures of the ancient nymphs. I did not think all nature could have furnished such a scene of beauty. She made them a sign to play and dance. Four of them immediately began to play some soft airs on instruments between a lute and a guitar, which they accompanied with their voices, while the others danced by turns. This dance was very different from what I had seen before. Nothing could be more artful, or more proper to raise certain ideas. The tunes so soft! — The motions so languishing! — Accompanied with pauses and dying eyes! — half falling back, and then recovering



ring themselves in so artful a manner, that I am very positive, the coldest and most rigid prude upon earth, could not have looked upon them without thinking of "something not to be spoke of". — I suppose you may have read that the Turks have no music, but what is shocking to the ears; but this account is from those who never heard any but what is played in the streets, and is just as reasonable, as if a foreigner should take his ideas of English music from the bladder and string, or the marrow-bones and cleavers. I can assure you, that the music is extremely pathetic; 'tis true I am inclined to prefer the Italian, but perhaps I am partial. I am acquainted with a Greek lady, who sings better than Mrs. Robinson, and is very well skilled in both, who gives the preference to the Turkish. 'Tis certain they have very fine natural voices, these were very agreeable. When the dance was over, four fair slaves came into the room, with silver censors in their hands, and perfumed the air with amber, aloes-wood, and other scents. After this, they served me coffee upon their knees, in the finest japan china, with saucers of silver gilt. The lovely Fatima entertained me all this while in the most polite agreeable manner, calling me often Uzelle Sultanam, or the beautiful Sultana, and desiring my friendship with the best grace in the world, lamenting that she could not entertain me in my own language.

When I took my leave, two maids brought in a fine silver basket of embroidered handkerchiefs; she begg'd I would wear the richest for her sake, and gave the others to my woman and interpreters. — I retired, thro' the same ceremonies as before, and could not help thinking I had been some time in Mahomet's paradise, so much was I charmed
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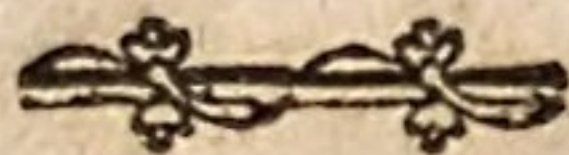


with what I had seen. I know not how the relation of it appears to you. I wish it may give you part of my pleasure; for I would have my dear sister share in all the diversions of,

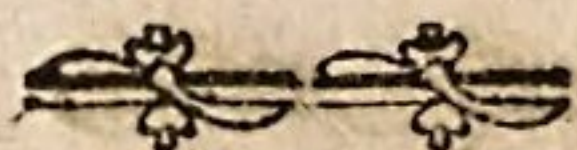
Your's, &c. &c.

To the Countess of B —.

AT length I have heard from my dear lady B —, for the first time. I am persuaded you have had the goodness to write before, but I have had the ill fortune to lose your letters. Since my last I have staid quietly at Constantinople, a city that I ought in conscience to give your ladyship a right notion of, since I know you can have none but what is partial and mistaken from the writings of travellers. 'Tis certain there are many people that pass years here in Pera, without having ever seen it, and yet they all pretend to describe it. Pera, Tophana, and Galata, wholly inhabited by French Christians (and which, together, make the appearance of a very fine town) are divided from it by the sea, which is not above half so broad as the broadest part of the Thames; but the Christian men are loth to hazard the adventures they sometimes meet with amongst the Levents or Seamen (worse monsters than our watermen) and the women must cover their faces to go there, which they have a perfect aversion to do. 'Tis true, they wear veils in Pera, but they are such as only serve to shew their beauty to more advantage, and would not be permitted in Constantinople. These reasons deter almost every creature from seeing it; and the French Ambassadors will return to France (I believe) without ever having been there. You'll wonder, Madam,



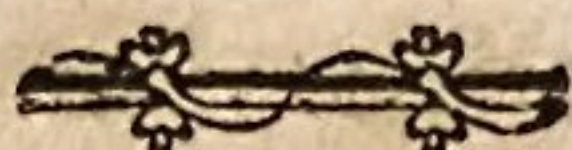
to hear me add, that I have been there very often. The Asmack, or Turkish veil, is become not only very easy, but agreeable to me; and if it was not, I would be content to endure some inconveniency to gratify a passion that is become so powerful with me, as curiosity. And indeed, the pleasure of going in a barge to Chelsea, is not comparable to that of rowing upon the canal of the sea here, where for twenty miles together down the Bosphorus, the most beautiful variety of prospects present themselves. The Asian side is covered with fruit-trees, villages, and the most delightful landscapes in nature; on the European, stands Constantinople, situated on seven hills. — The unequal heights make it seem as large again as it is (tho' one of the largest cities in the world) shewing an agreeable mixture of gardens, pine and cypress trees, palaces, mosques, and public buildings, raised one above another, with as much beauty and appearance of symmetry as your ladyship ever saw in a cabinet adorned by the most skilful hands, where jars shew themselves above jars, mixed with canisters, babies, and candlesticks. This is a very odd comparison; but it gives me an exact idea of the thing. I have taken care to see as much of the Seraglio as is to be seen. It is on a point of land running into the sea; a palace of prodigious extent, but very irregular. The gardens take in a large compass of ground, full of high cypress trees, which is all I know of them. The buildings are all of white stone, headed on top, with gilded turrets and spires, which look very magnificent: and indeed, I believe there is no Christian King's palace half so large. There are six large courts in it, all built round and set with trees, having galleries of stone; one of those for the guard, another for the slaves, and



another for the officers of the kitchen, another for the stables, the fifth for the Divan, and the sixth for the apartment destined for audiences. On the ladies' side there are, at least, as many more, with distinct courts belonging to their eunuchs and attendants, their kitchens, &c.

The next remarkable structure is that of St. Sophia, which 'tis very difficult to see. I was forced to send three times to the Caimakan, (the governor of the town) and he assembled the chief Effendis, or heads of the law, and enquired of the Mufti, whether it was lawful to permit it. They passed some days in this important debate; but, I insisting on my request, permission was granted. I can't be informed why the Turks are more delicate on the subject of this mosque, than on any of the others, where, what Christian pleases may enter without scruple. I fancy they imagine that, having been once consecrated, people, on pretence of curiosity, might profane it with prayers, particularly to those Saints who are still very visible in Mosaic work, and no other way defaced but by the decays of time; for it is absolutely false, tho' so universally asserted, that the Turks defaced all the images that they found in the city. The dome of St. Sophia is said to be one hundred and thirteen foot diameter, built upon arches, sustained by vast pillars of marble, the pavement and stair-case marble. There are two rows of galleries supported with pillars of parti-coloured marble, and the whole roof Mosaic work, part of which decays very fast, and drops down. They presented me a handful of it; its composition seems to me a sort of glass, or that paste with which they make counterfeit jewels. They shew here the tomb of the Emperor Constantine, for which they have a great veneration.

This



This is a dull imperfect description of this celebrated building; but I understand architecture so little, that I am afraid of talking nonsense in endeavouring to speak of it particularly. Perhaps I am in the wrong, but some Turkish Mosques please me better. That of Sultan Solymán is an exact square, with four fine towers in the angles; in the midst is a noble cupola, supported with beautiful marble pillars; two lesser at the ends, supported in the same manner; the pavement and gallery round the Mosque of marble: under the great cupola is a fountain adorned with such fine coloured pillars, that I can hardly think them natural marble; on one side is the pulpit of white marble, and on the other the little gallery for the Grand Signior. A fine stair-case leads to it, and it is built up with gilded lattices. At the upper-end is a sort of altar, where the name of God is written; and, before it, stand two candlesticks, as high as a man; with wax candles as thick as three flambeaux. The pavement is spread with fine carpets, and the Mosque illuminated with a vast number of lamps. The court leading to it is very spacious, with galleries of marble of green columns, covered with twenty-eight leaded cupolas on two sides, and a fine fountain of basins in the midst of it.

This description may serve for all the Mosques in Constantinople. The model is exactly the same, and they only differ in largeness and thickness of materials. That of the Sultana Valida, is the largest of them all, built entirely of marble, the most prodigious, and, I think, the most beautiful structure I ever saw, be it spoke to the honour of our sex, for it was founded by the mother of Mahomet the fourth. Between friends, Paul's Church would make a pitiful figure near it; as any of our squares would

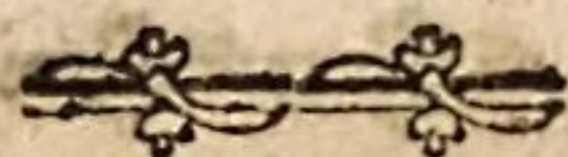


would do, near the Atlerdan, or place of horses (*AT* signifying a horse in Turkish). This was the Hippodrome, in the reign of the Greek Emperors. In the midst of it is a brazen column of three serpents twisted together, with their mouths gaping. 'Tis impossible to learn why so odd a pillar was erected; the Greeks can tell nothing but fabulous legends when they are asked the meaning of it, and there is no sign of its having ever had any inscription. At the upper end is an obelisk of porphyry, probably brought from Egypt, the hieroglyphics all very entire, which I look upon as mere ancient puns. It is placed on four little brazen pillars, upon a pedestal of square free stone, full of figures in bas-relief on two sides; one square representing a battle, another an assembly. The others have inscriptions in Greek and Latin; the last I took in my pocket-book, and it is as follows:

*Difficilis quondam, Dominis parere Serenis
Jussus, & extinctis palmam portare Tyrannis;
Omnia Theodosio cedunt, sobolique perenni.*

Your Lord will interpret these lines. Don't fancy they are a love-letter to him.

All the figures have their heads on; and I cannot forbear reflecting again on the impudence of authors, who all say they have not; but I dare swear the greatest part of them never saw them, but took the report from the Greeks, who resist, with incredible fortitude, the conviction of their own eyes, whenever they have invented lies to the dishonour of their enemies. Were you to believe them, there is nothing worth seeing in Constantinople, but Santa Sophia, tho' there are several larger, and in my opinion, more beautiful Mosques in that city. That



of Sultan Achmet, has this particularity, that its gates are of brass. In all these Mosques there are little chapels, where are the tombs of the founders and their families, with wax candles burning before them.

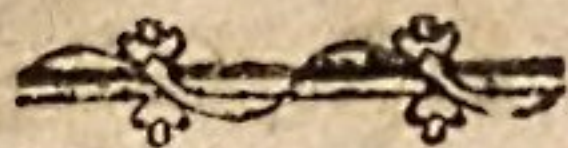
The Exchanges are all noble buildings, full of fine alleys, the greatest part supported with pillars, and kept wonderfully neat. Every trade has its distinct alley, where the merchandize is disposed in the same order as in the New Exchange at London. The Bisisten, or jewellers' quarter, shews so much riches, such a vast quantity of diamonds, and all kind of precious stones, that they dazzle the sight. The embroiderers' is also very glittering, and people walk here as much for diversion as business. The markets are most of them handsome squares, and admirably well provided, perhaps better than in any other part of the world.

I know you'll expect I should say something particular of the slaves; and you will imagine me half a Turk, when I don't speak of it with the same horror other Christians have done before me. But I cannot forbear applauding the humanity of the Turks to these creatures: they are never ill used, and their slavery is, in my opinion, no worse than servitude all over the world. 'Tis true they have no wages; but they give them yearly clothes to a higher value than our salaries to our ordinary servants. But you'll object, that men buy women with an eye to evil. In my opinion they are bought and sold as publickly and as infamously in all our Christian great cities.

I must add to the description of Constantinople, that the Historical Pillar is no more. It dropped down about two years before I came to this part of the world. I have seen no other footsteps of antiquity



quity except the aqueducts, which are so vast that I am apt to believe they are yet more ancient than the Greek Empire. The Turks, indeed, have clapped in some stones with Turkish inscriptions, to give their natives the honour of so great a work; but the deceit is easily discovered. — The other public buildings are the Hanns and Monasteries; the first are very large and numerous; the second few in number, and not at all magnificent. I had the curiosity to visit one of them, and to observe the devotions of the Dervises, which are as whimsical as any at —. These fellows have permission to marry, but are confined to an odd habit, which is only a piece of coarse white cloth, wrapped about them, with their legs and arms naked. Their order has few other rules, except that of performing their fantastick rites, every Tuesday and Friday, which is done in this manner; they meet together in a large hall, where they all stand with their eyes fixed on the ground and their arms across, while the Imaum or preacher reads part of the Alcoran from a pulpit placed in the midst; and when he has done, eight or ten of them make a melancholy concert with their pipes, which are no unmusical instruments. Then he reads again, and makes a short exposition on what he has read; after which they sing and play, till their Superior (the only one of them dressed in green) rises and begins a sort of solemn dance. They all stand about him in a regular figure, and while some play, the others tie their robe (which is very wide) fast round their waist, and begin to turn round with an amazing swiftness, and yet with great regard to the music, moving slower or faster as the tune is played. This lasts above an hour, without any of them shewing the least appearance of giddiness, which is not to be wondered at, when

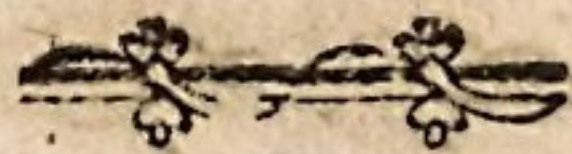


it is considered, they are all used to it from their infancy; most of them being devoted to this way of life from their birth. There turned amongst them some little Dervises of six or seven years old, who seemed no more disordered by that exercise than the others. At the end of the ceremony they shout out: "There is no other God, but God, and Mahomet his Prophet": after which they kiss the Superior's hand and retire. The whole is performed with the most solemn gravity. Nothing can be more austere than the form of these people; they never raise their eyes, and seem devoted to contemplation. And as ridiculous as this is in description, there is something touching in the air of submission and mortification they assume. — This letter is of a horrible length; but you may burn it when you have read enough, &c. &c.

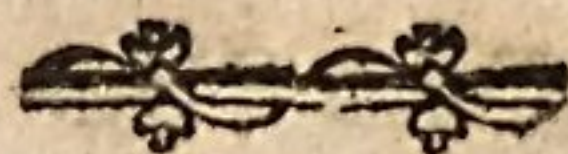
To the Abbot —.

Dover, Oct. 31, O.S. 1728.

I AM willing to take your word for it that I shall really oblige you, by letting you know, as soon as possible, my safe passage over the water. I arrived this morning at Dover, after being tossed a whole night in the packet boat in so violent a manner, that the master, considering the weakness of his vessel, thought it proper to remove the mail, and gave us notice of the danger. We called a little fishing boat, which could hardly make up to us; while all the people on board us were crying to heaven. 'Tis hard to imagine one's self in a scene of greater horror than on such an occasion, and yet shall



shall I own it to you ? tho' I was not at all willing to be drowned, I could not forbear being entertained at the double distress of a fellow passenger. She was an English lady that I had met at Calais, who desired me to let her go over with me in my cabin. She had bought a fine point head, which she was contriving to conceal from the custom-house officers. When the wind grew high, and our little vessel cracked, she fell very heartily to her prayers, and thought wholly of her soul. When it seemed to abate, she returned to the worldly care of her head-dress, and addressed herself to me. — “Dear Madam, will you take care of this point? if it should be lost! Lord have mercy on my soul! — Pray, Madam, take care of this head-dress“. This easy transition from her soul to her head-dress, and the alternate agonies that both gave her, made it hard to determine which she thought of greatest value. But, however, the scene was not so diverting but I was glad to get rid of it, and be thrown into the little boat, tho' with some hazard of breaking my neck. It brought me safe hither, and I cannot help looking with partial eyes on my native land. That partiality was certainly given us by nature, to prevent rambling, the effect of an ambitious thirst after knowledge, which we are not formed to enjoy. All we get by it, is a fruitless desire of mixing the different pleasures and conveniences, which are given to the different parts of the world, and cannot meet in any one of them. After having read all that is to be found in the languages I am mistress of, and having decayed my sight by midnight studies, I envy the easy peace of mind of a ruddy milk-maid, who, undisturbed by doubt, hears the sermon, with humility, every Sunday, not having confounded the sentiments of natural duty



in her head by the vain enquiries of the schools, who may be more learned, yet after all, must remain as ignorant. And after having seen part of Asia and Africa, and almost made the tour of Europe, I think the honest English squire more happy, who verily believes the Greek wines less delicious than March beer, that the African fruits have not so fine a flavour as golden pippins, that the Becafiguas of Italy are not so well tasted as a rump of beef, and that in short there is no perfect enjoyment of this life out of Old England. I pray God I may think so for the rest of my life; and since I must be contented with our scanty allowance of daylight, that I may forget the enlivening fun of Constantinople.

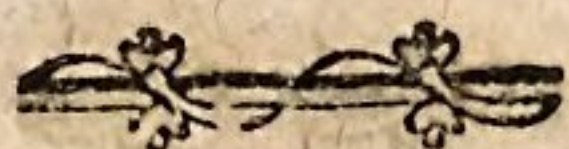
I am, &c. &c.

To Mr. P—.

Dover, Nov. 1, O.S. 1718.

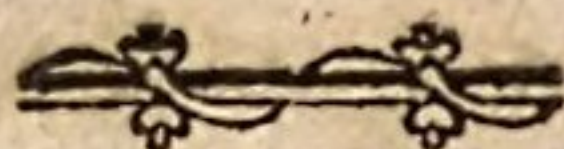
I HAVE this minute received a letter of yours sent me from Paris. I believe and hope I shall very soon see both you and Mr. Congreve; but as I am here in an inn, where we stay to regulate our march to London, bag and baggage, I shall employ some of my leisure time in answering that part of yours that seems to require an answer.

I must applaud your good nature in supposing that your pastoral lovers (vulgarly called Haymakers) would have lived in everlasting joy and harmony, if the lightening had not interrupted their scheme of happiness. I see no reason to imagine that John Hughes and Sarah Drew were either wiser
or



or more virtuous than their neighbours. That a well-set man of twenty-five should have a fancy to marry a brown woman of eighteen, is nothing marvellous; and I cannot help thinking that had they married, their lives would have passed in the common track with their fellow-parishioners. His endeavouring to shield her from a storm was a natural action, and what he would have certainly done for his horse, if he had been in the same situation. Neither am I of opinion that their sudden death was a reward of their mutual virtue. You know the Jews were reprov'd for thinking a village destroyed by fire, more wicked than those that had escaped the thunder. Time and chance happen to all men. Since you desire me to try my skill in an epitaph, I think the following lines perhaps more just, tho' not so poetical as yours.

Here lie John Hughes and Sarah Drew;
Perhaps you'll say, what's that to you?
Believe me, friend, much may be said
On that poor couple that are dead.
On Sunday next they should have married;
But see how oddly things are carried!
On Thursday last it rain'd and lighten'd,
These tender lovers sadly frighten'd,
Shelter'd beneath the cocking hay
In hopes to pass the time away.
But the BOLD THUNDER found them out
(Commission'd for that end no doubt)
And seizing on their trembling breath,
Consign'd them to the shades of death.
Who knows if 'twas not kindly done?
For had they seen the next year's fun,
A beaten wife and cuckold swain
Had jointly curs'd the marriage chain;
Now they are happy in their doom,
FOR POPE HAS WROTE UPON THEIR TOMB.



I confess these sentiments are not altogether so heroic as yours; but I hope you will forgive them in favour of the two last lines. You see how much I esteem the honour you have done them; tho' I am not very impatient to have the same, and had rather continue to be your stupid, living, humble servant, than be celebrated by all the pens in Europe.

I would write to Mr. C—; but suppose you will read this to him, if he enquires after me.

To Mr. P—.

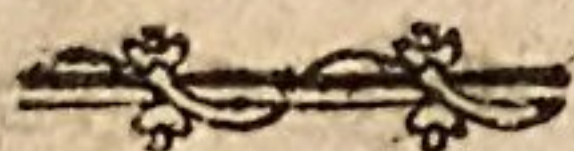
Sept. 1, 1717.

WHEN I wrote to you last, Belgrade was in the hands of the Turks, but at this present moment, it has changed masters, and is in the hands of the Imperialists. A Janizary, who in nine days, and yet without any wings but what a panick terror seems to have furnished, arrived at Constantinople from the army of the Turks before Belgrade, brought Mr. W— the news of a compleat victory obtained by the Imperialists, commanded by prince Eugene, over the Ottoman troops. It is said the prince has discovered great conduct and valour in this action, and I am particularly glad that the voice of glory and duty has called him from the — (here several words of the manuscript are effaced). — Two days after the battle the town surrendered. The consternation which this defeat has occasioned here, is inexpressible; and the Sultan apprehending a revolution from the resentment and indignation of the people, fomented by certain leaders, has begun his precautions, after the goodly fashion of this blessed



fed government, by ordering feveral persons to be strangled who were the objects of his royal suspicion. He has also ordered his Treasurer to advance some months pay to the Janizaries, which seems the less necessary, as their conduct has been bad in this campaign, and their licentious ferocity seems pretty well tamed by the publick contempt. Such of them as return in straggling and fugitive parties to the metropolis, have not spirit nor credit enough to defend themselves from the insults of the mob; the very children taunt them, and the populace spit in their faces as they pass. They refused during battle to lend their assistance to save the baggage and the military chest, which however were defended by the Bashaws and their retinue, while the Janizaries and Spahis were nobly employed in plundering their own camp.

You see here that I give you a very handsome return for your obliging letter. You entertain me with a most agreeable account of your amiable connexions with men of letters and taste, and of the delicious moments you pass in their society under the rural shade; and I exhibit to you in return, the barbarous spectacle of Turks and Germans cutting one another's throats. But what can you expect from such a country as this, from which the Muses have fled, from which letters seem eternally banished, and in which you see, in private scenes, nothing pursued as happiness but the refinements of an indolent voluptuousness, and where those who act upon the public theatre live in uncertainty, suspicion, and terror? Here pleasure, to which I am no enemy, when it is properly seasoned and of a good composition, is surely of the cloying kind. Veins of wit, elegant conversation, easy commerce, are unknown among the Turks: and yet they seem capable

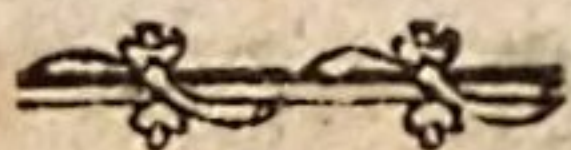


of all these, if the vile spirit of their government did not stifle genius, damp curiosity, and suppress an hundred passions, that embellish and render life agreeable. The luscious passion of the Seraglio is the only one almost that is gratified here to the full, but it is blended so with the surly spirit of despotism in one of the parties, and with the dejection and anxiety which this spirit produces in the other, that to one of my way of thinking it cannot appear otherwise than as a very mixed kind of enjoyment. The women here are not, indeed, so closely confined as many have related; they enjoy a high degree of liberty, even in the bosom of servitude, and they have methods of evasion and disguise that are very favourable to gallantry; but after all, they are still under uneasy apprehensions of being discovered; and a discovery exposes them to the most merciless rage of jealousy, which is here a monster that cannot be satiated but with blood. The magnificence and riches that reign in the apartments of the ladies of fashion here, seem to be one of their chief pleasures, joined with their retinue of female slaves, whose musick, dancing and dress amuse them highly; but there is such an air of form and stiffness amidst this grandeur, as hinders it from pleasing me at long run, however I was dazzled with it at first sight. This stiffness and formality of manners are peculiar to the Turkish ladies; for the Grecian belles are of quite another character and complexion; with them pleasure appears in more engaging forms, and their persons, manners, conversation and amusements are very far from being destitute of elegance and ease. —

I received the news of Mr. Addison's being declared Secretary of State, with the less surprise, in that I know that post was almost offered to him before.



before. At that time he declined it, and I really believe that he would have done well to have declined it now. Such a post as that, and such a wife as the Countess, do not seem to be, in prudence, eligible for a man that is asthmatick, and we may see the day when he will be heartily glad to resign them both. It is well that he laid aside the thoughts of the voluminous dictionary, of which I have heard you or somebody else frequently make mention. But no more on that subject; I would not have said so much, were I not assured that this letter will come safe and unopened to hand. I long much to tread upon English ground, that I may see you and Mr. Congreve, who render that ground, classick ground; nor will you refuse our present Secretary a part of that merit, whatever reasons you may have to be dissatisfied with him in other respects. You are the three happiest poets I ever heard of; one a Secretary of state, the other enjoying leisure with dignity in two lucrative employments; and you, tho' your religious profession is an obstacle to court promotion, and disqualifies you from filling civil employments, have found the philosopher's stone, since by making the Iliad pass through your poetical crucible into an English form, without losing aught of its original beauty, you have drawn the golden current of Pactolus to Twickenham. I call this finding the philosopher's stone, since you alone found out the secret, and nobody else has got into it. Addison and Tickell tried it, but their experiments failed: and they lost, if not their money, at least a certain portion of their fame in the trial, while you touched the mantle of the divine Bard, and imbibed his spirit. I hope we shall have the Odyssey soon from your happy hand, and I think I shall follow with singular pleasure the traveller Ulys.



Ulysses, who was an observer of men and manners, when he travels in your harmonious numbers, I love him much better than the hot-headed son of Peleus, who bullied his general, cried for his mistress, and so on. It is true, the excellence of the Iliad does not depend upon his merit or dignity, but I wish, nevertheless, that Homer had chosen a Hero somewhat less pettish and less fantastick: a perfect hero is chimerical and unnatural, and consequently uninstruative; but it is also true that while the Epic Hero ought to be drawn with the infirmities that are the lot of humanity, he ought never to be represented as extremely absurd. But it becomes me ill to play the critick; so I take my leave of you for this time, and desire you will believe me, with the highest esteem,

Your's, &c. &c.

From Mr. Gay to Mr. F.

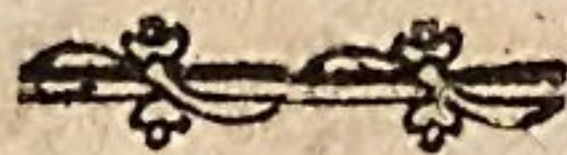
Stanton-Harcourt, Aug. 9th, 1718.

The only news that you can expect from me here, is news from heaven, for I am quite out of the world; and there is scarce any thing that can reach me except the noise of thunder, which undoubtedly you have heard too. We have read, in old authors, of high towers levelled by it to the ground, while the humble valleys have escaped: the only thing that is proof against it is the laurel, which, however, I take to be no great security to the brains of modern authors. But to let you see that the contrary to this often happens, I must acquaint you, that the highest and most extravagant
heap



heap of towers which is in this neighbourhood, stands still undefaced, while a cock of barley in our next field has been consumed to ashes. Would to God that this heap of barley had been all that had perished! for unhappily beneath this little shelter sat two much more constant lovers than ever were found in romance under the shade of a beech tree. John Hew-it was a well-set man of about five-and-twenty; Sarah Drew might be rather called comely than beautiful, and was about the same age. They had passed through the various labours of the year together, with the greatest satisfaction. If she milked, it was his morning and evening care to bring the cows to her hand. It was but last fair that he bought her a present of green silk for her straw hat, and the posy on her silver ring was of his choosing. Their love was the talk of the whole neighbourhood; for scandal never affirmed that he had any other views than the lawful possession of her in marriage. It was that very morning that he had obtained the consent of her parents, and it was but till the next week that they were to wait to be happy: perhaps in the intervals of their work they were now talking of their wedding-cloaths, and John was suiting several sorts of poppies and field-flowers to her complexion, to choose her a knot for her wedding day. While they were thus busied (it was on the last of July, between two and three in the afternoon) the clouds grew black, and such a storm of lightning and thunder ensued, that all the labourers made the best of their way to what shelter the trees and hedges afforded.

Sarah was frightened, and fell down in a swoon on a heap of barley. John, who never separated from her, sat down by her side, having raked together two or three heaps, the better to secure her from the storm. Immediately there was heard so loud a crack,



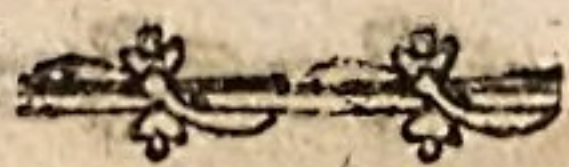
as if heaven had split asunder; every one was now solicitous for the safety of his neighbour, and called for one another throughout the field: no answer being returned to those who called to our lovers, they stept to the place where they lay; they perceived the barley all in a smoke, and spied this faithful pair, John with one arm about Sarah's neck, and the other held over, as to screen her from the lightning. They were struck dead, and stiffened in this tender posture. Sarah's left eyebrow was singed, and there appeared a black spot on her breast: her lover was all over black; but not the least sign of life was found in either. Attended by their melancholy companions, they were conveyed to the town, and the next day interred in Stanton - Harcourt church - yard.

A Tour to Mount Ætna.

Mr. P. Brydone to Wm. Beckford Esq;

Catania, May 26, 1770.

— We are going to be very busy; and are preparing every thing for one of the greatest objects of our expedition; the examination of mount Ætna. Indeed, we have received but bad encouragement; and are beginning to doubt of the possibility of success. Recupero tells us, that the season is not far enough advanced yet, by some months; and that he does not think it will be possible to get near the summit of the mountain. The last winter, he says, was so uncommonly severe, that the circle of snow extended much nearer the foot of the mountain than usual;

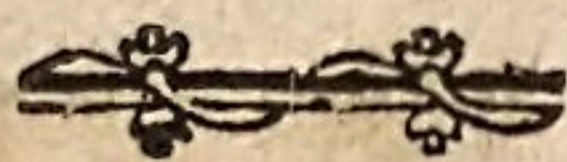


usual; that although this circle is now greatly contracted, it still extends nine or ten miles below the crater. — He advises us to return this way in the month of August; and, if possible, make *Ætna* the last part of our expedition. If we do not succeed to-morrow, we shall probably follow his advice; but we are all determined to make a bold push for it. The weather is the most favourable that can be imagined: Here is a delightful evening; and by the star-light we can observe the smoke rolling down the side of the mountain like a vast torrent. *Recupero* says, this is a sure indication of the violence of the cold in these exalted regions of the atmosphere, which condenses the vapour, and makes it fall down, the moment it issues out of the crater. He advises us, by all means, to provide plenty of liqueurs, warm fur cloaks, and hatchets to cut wood; as we shall probably be obliged to pass the night in the open air, in a climate, he assures us, as cold as that of Greenland. It is very singular if this be true; for at present we are melting with heat, in thin suits of taffeta. Adieu. You shall know it all on our return, if we do not share the fate of *Empedocles*.

Ever yours.

Catania, May 29th.

ON the 27th, by day-break, we set off to visit mount *Ætna*, that venerable and respectable father of mountains. His base and his immense declivities are covered over with a numerous progeny of his own: for every great eruption produces a new mountain; and perhaps, by the number
of



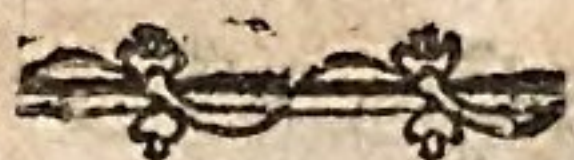
of these, better than by any other method, the number of eruptions, and the age of *Ætna* itself, might be ascertained.

The whole mountain is divided into three distinct regions, called *La Regione Culta*, or *Piedmontese*, The Fertile Region; *la Regione Silvo-fa*, or *Nemorosa*, The Woody Region; and *la Regione deserta*, or *Scoperta*, The Barren Region.

These three are as different, both in climate and productions, as the three zones of the earth; and perhaps, with equal propriety, might have been styled the Torrid, the Temperate, and the Frigid zone. The first region surrounds the foot of the mountain, and constitutes the most fertile country in the world on all sides of it, to the extent of about fourteen or fifteen miles, where the woody region begins. It is composed almost entirely of lava, which, after a number of ages, is at last converted into the most fertile of all soils.

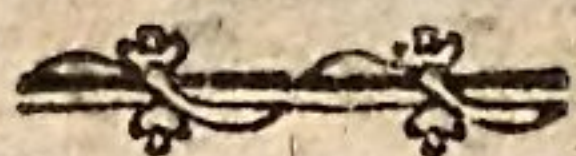
At *Nicolosi*, which is twelve miles up the mountain, we found the barometer at 27 : 1 1/2; at *Catania* it stood at 29 : 8 1/2; although the former elevation is not very great, probably not exceeding 3000 feet; yet the climate was totally changed. At *Catania* the harvest was entirely over, and the heats were insupportable; here they were moderate, and in many places the corn is as yet green. The road for these twelve miles is the worst I ever travelled; entirely over old lavas and the mouths of extinguished volcanos, now converted into corn-fields, vineyards, and orchards.

The fruit of this region is reckoned the finest in *Sicily*, particularly the figs, of which they have a great variety. One of these of a very large size, esteemed



esteemed superior in flavour to all the rest, they pretend is peculiar to Ætna.

The lavas, which, as I have already said, form this region of the mountain, take their rise from an infinite number of the most beautiful little mountains on earth, which are every where scattered on the immense declivity of Ætna. These are all of a regular figure; either that of a cone, or a semi-sphere; and all, but a very few, are covered with beautiful trees, and richest verdure: every eruption generally forms one of these mountains. As the great crater of Ætna itself is raised to such an enormous height above the lower regions of the mountain, it is not possible, that the internal fire raging for a vent, even round the base, and no doubt vastly below it, should be carried to the height of twelve or thirteen thousand feet, for probably so high is the summit of Ætna. It has therefore generally happened, that after shaking the mountain and its neighbourhood for some time, it at last bursts open its side, and this is called an eruption. At first it only sends forth a thick smoke and showers of ashes that lay waste the adjacent country: These are soon followed by red hot stones, and rocks of a great size, thrown to an immense height in the air. The fall of these stones, together with the quantities of ashes discharged at the same time, at last form the spherical and conical mountains I have mentioned. Sometimes this process is finished in the course of a few days, sometimes it lasts for months, which was the case in the great eruption 1669. in that case, the mountain formed is of a great size; some of them are not less than seven or eight miles round, and upwards of 1000 feet in perpendicular height; others are not more than two or three miles round, and 3 or 400 feet high.



After the new mountain is formed, the lava generally bursts out from its lower side; and bearing every thing before it, is for the most part terminated by the sea. This is the common progress of an eruption; however, it sometimes happens, though rarely, that the lava bursts at once from the side of the mountain, without all these attending circumstances; and this is commonly the case with the eruptions of Vesuvius, where the elevation being so much smaller, the melted matter is generally carried up into the crater of the mountain, which then exhibits the phenomena I have described; discharging showers of stones and ashes from the mouth of the volcano, without forming any new mountain, but only adding considerably to the height of the old one; till at last the lava, rising near the summit, bursts the side of the crater, and the eruption is declared. This has literally been the case with eruptions I have been an attentive witness of in that mountain; but *Ætna* is upon a much larger scale, and one crater is not enough to give vent to such oceans of liquid fire.

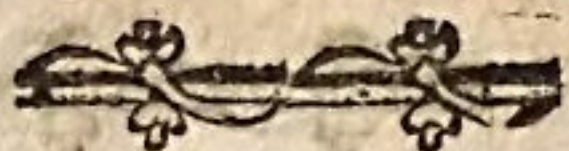
Recupero assures me, he saw in an eruption of that mountain large rocks of fire discharged to the height of some thousand feet, with a noise much more terrible than that of thunder. He measured from the time of their greatest elevation till they reached the ground, and found they took twenty-one seconds to descend; which, according to the rule of the spaces, being as the times, amounts, I think, to upwards of 7000 feet. A most astonishing height surely, and requiring a force of projection beyond what we have any conception of. I measured the height of the explosions of Vesuvius by the same rule, and never observed any of the stones thrown from it to take more than nine seconds



to descend, which shews they had risen to little more than 1200 feet.

Our landlord at Nicolosi gave us an account of the singular fate of the beautiful country near Hybla, at no great distance from hence. It was so celebrated for its fertility, and particularly for its honey, that it was called Mel Passi, till it was overwhelmed by the lava of Ætna; and having then become totally barren, by a kind of pun its name was changed to Mal Passi. In a second eruption, by a shower of ashes from the mountain, it soon re-assumed its antient beauty and fertility; and for many years was called Bel Passi. Last of all, in the infortunate æra of 1669, it was again laid under an ocean of fire, and reduced to the most wretched sterility, since which time it is known again by its second appellation of Mal Passi. However, the lava, in its course over this beautiful country, has left several little islands or hillocks; just enough to shew what it formerly was. These make a singular appearance, in all the bloom of the most luxuriant vegetation, surrounded and rendered almost inaccessible by large fields of black and rugged lava. The mountain from whence the first eruption issued, that covered the Mel Passi, is known by the name of Monpelieri; I was struck with its beautiful appearance at a distance, and could not resist the desire I had of examining it minutely, as well as of observing the effects of the two eruptions that overwhelmed this celebrated country.

Monpelieri is rather of a spherical than a conical shape, and does not rise in perpendicular height above 300 feet, but it is so perfectly regular on every side, and so richly overspread with fruits and
k 2 flowers,



flowers , that I could not leave so heavenly a spot, without the greatest regret. Its cup or crater is large in proportion to the mountain , and is as exactly hollowed out as the best made bowl. I walked quite round its outward edge , and think the circumference must be somewhat more than a mile.

This mountain was formed by the first eruption that destroyed the country of Mel Paffi , and is of a very old date. It buried a great number of villages and country houses ; and particularly two noble churches , which are more regretted than all the rest, on account of three statues , reckoned at that time the most perfect in the island. They have attempted, but in vain , to recover them ; as the spot where the churches stood could never be justly ascertained. Indeed it is impossible it should ; for these churches were built of lava , which it is well known is immediately melted , when it comes into contact with a torrent of new erupted matter : And Massa says , that in some eruptions of Ætna , the lava has poured down with such a sudden impetuosity , that in the course of a few hours , churches , palaces , and villages , have been entirely melted down , and the whole run off in fusion without leaving the least mark of their former existence. But if the lava has had any considerable time to cool , this singular effect never happens.

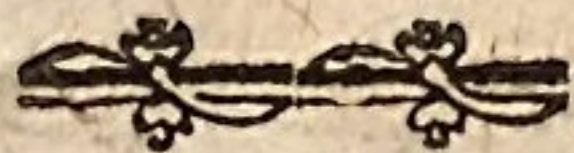
The great eruption of 1669 , after shaking the whole country around for four months , and forming a very large mountain of stones and ashes , burst out about a mile above Monpelieri , and descending like a torrent , bore directly against the middle of that mountain , and (they pretend) perforated it from side to side : this however I doubt,
as



as it must have broken the regular form of the mountain, which is not the case. But certain it is, that it pierced it to a great depth. The lava then divided into two branches; and surrounding this mountain, joined again on its south side; and laying waste the whole country betwixt that and Catania, scaled the walls of that city, and poured its flaming torrent into the ocean. In its way, it is said to have destroyed the possessions of near 30,000 people, and reduced them to beggary. It formed several hills where there were formerly valleys, and filled up a large lake, of which there is not now the least vestige to be seen.

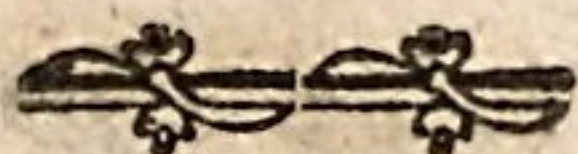
As the events of this eruption are better known than any other, they tell a great many singular stories of it; one of which, however incredible it may appear, is well ascertained. A vineyard, belonging to a convent of Jesuits, lay directly in its way. This vineyard was formed on an antient lava, probably a thin one, with a number of caverns and crevices under it. The liquid lava entering into these caverns, soon filled them up, and by degrees bore up the vineyard; and the Jesuits, who every moment expected to see it buried, beheld with amazement the whole field begin to move off. It was carried on the surface of the lava to a considerable distance; and though the greatest part was destroyed, yet some of it remains to this day.

We went to examine the mouth from whence this dreadful torrent issued; and were surprised to find it only a small hole, of about three or four yards diameter. The mountain from whence it sprung, I think, is little less than the conical part of Vesuvius.



There is a vast cavern on the opposite side of it, where people go to shoot wild pigeons, which breed there in great abundance. The innermost parts of this cavern are so very dismal and gloomy, that our landlord told us some people had lost their senses from having advanced too far, imagining they saw devils and the spirits of the damned; for it is still very generally believed here, that *Ætna* is the mouth of hell.

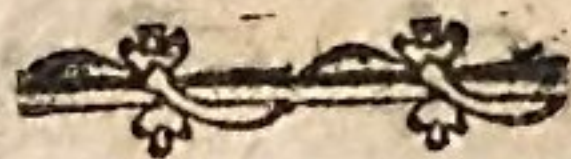
We found a degree of wildness and ferocity in the inhabitants of this mountain, that I have not observed any where else. It put me in mind of an observation the Padre della Torre (the historiographer of mount Vesuvius) told me he had often made in the confines of Naples; that in the places where the air is most impregnated with sulphur and hot exhalations, the people were always most wicked and vicious. Whatever truth there may be in the observation, the people about Nicolosi at least seem to confirm it. The whole village flocked round us, and the women in particular abused us exceedingly; the cause of which we at last found was, that F——'s blooming complexion and white skin had made them take him for one of their own sex. They made a great clamour, and it was with difficulty we could appease them. The person, whom Recupero had appointed to accompany us, known by the name of the Cyclops, (the man in the island that is best acquainted with mount *Ætna*) was ordered by them not to go with us; and if we had not at last obtained their consent by soothing and flattery, the best method with women, he durst not have disobeyed them. At first we had been obliged to shut the grate of the court, they were so very noisy and tumultuous; but when our landlord (a priest) for whom
we



we had letters from Catania, assured them that we were Christians, and came with no bad intentions, they became more moderate, and we ventured out amongst them. — This confidence soon acquired us theirs; and in a short time we became good friends, and had a great deal of conversation.

It was with much difficulty I could persuade them that we were not come to search for hidden treasures, a great quantity of which they believe is to be found in Monpelieri; and when I went to that mountain they were then fully convinced that this was our intention. Two of the men followed me, and kept a close eye on every step that I took; and when I lifted any bit of lava or pumice, they came running up, thinking it was something very precious; but when they observed they were only bits of stone, and that I put them into my pocket, they laughed heartily, talking to one another in their mountain jargon, which is unintelligible even to Italians. However, as most of them speak Italian so as to be understood, they asked me what I was going to make of those bits of stone? I told them they were of great value in our country; that the people there had a way of making gold of them: At this they both seemed exceedingly surprised, and spoke again in their own tongue. However, I found they did not believe me; one of them told me, if that had been true, I certainly would not have been so ready in telling it: But, said he, if it is so, we will serve you for ever, if you will teach us that art; for then we shall be the richest people on earth. I assured them that I had not yet learned it myself, and that it was a secret known only to very few. They were likewise a good deal surprised to see me pull out of my pocket a magnetical needle and a small electro-

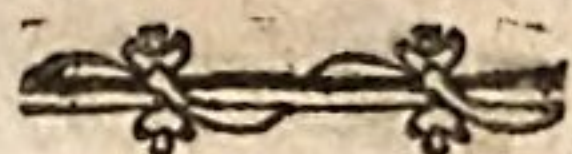
k 4



electrometer, which I had prepared at Catania to examine the electrical state of the air; and I was at first afraid they should have taken me for a conjuror (which you know already happened amongst the Ap-penins) but luckily that idea did not strike them.

On our way back to Nicolosi we were joined by three or four more, with their wives. I began to be a little afraid of myself, lest they should insist on knowing the secret. However, I took out my bits of lava, and told them they were at their service, if they had any occasion for them. But they refused them, saying, they wished to the Virgin, and St. Agatha, that I could take away the whole of it; as it had ruined the finest country in all Sicily.

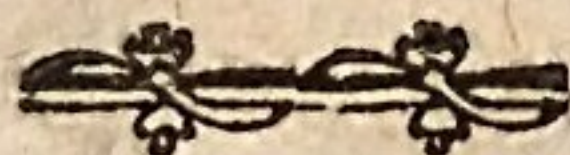
One fellow, who assumed an air of superior wisdom and dignity to the rest, made them form a circle round him, and began to interrogate me with great gravity and composure. It was with difficulty I could keep my countenance; but as I was alone with them, at some distance from the village, I was afraid of offending. He desired me to answer him with truth and precision, what were the real motives of our coming so fatiguing and disagreeable a journey? I told him, on my word, that we had no other motive but curiosity to examine mount *Ætna*. On which, laughing to one another with great contempt; *Un bel ragione questo, non è vero*, said they: (a very pretty reason, truly.) The old fellow then asked me what country we were of? I told him, we were *Inglese*. *E dove è loro paese?* said he; whereabouts does their country lie? I told him it was a great way off, on the other side of the world. *Da vero*, said the fellow, — *e credono in Christo quelli Inglese?* — I told him
(laugh-



(laughing) that they did. — Ah, said he, shaking his head, *mi pare che non credono troppo.* — One of the company then observed, that he remembered several of these *Ingleſi*, that, at different times, had paid viſits to mount *Ætna*, and that they never yet could find out their motive; but that he recollected very well, to have heard many of their old people ſay, that the *Ingleſi* had a queen that had burnt in the mountain for many years paſt; and that they ſuppoſed theſe viſits were made from ſome devotion or reſpect to her memory. I aſſured them that the *Ingleſi* had but too little reſpect for their queens when they were alive, but that they never troubled themſelves about them after they were dead: however, as all the others confirmed this teſtimony, I thought it was beſt to ſay little againſt it; but I was extremely curious to know who this queen might be. They alleged that I knew much better than they; but added, that her name was *Anna*.

I could not conceive what queen *Anne* had done to bring her there; and was puzzling myſelf to find it out, when one of them ſoon cleared up the matter; he told me ſhe was wife to a king that had been a *Chriſtian*, and that ſhe had made him an *Heretic*, and was in conſequence condemned to burn for ever in mount *Ætna*. I found it was no other than poor *Anne Boloyne*. As ſoon as I mentioned the name, *Si, ſignor*, ſaid the fellow, *l'iſteſſa, l'iſteſſa, la conoſce meglio che noi*. I aſked, if her huſband was there too, for that he deſerved it much better than ſhe: *ſicuro*, ſaid he, and all his heretic ſubjects too; and if you are of that number, you need not be in ſuch a hurry to get thither, you will be ſure of it at laſt. I thanked him,

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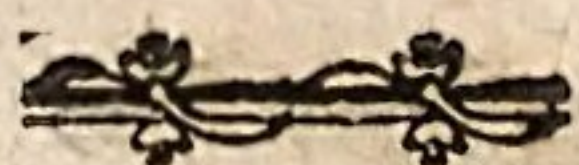


him , and went to join our company , not a little amused with the conversation.

We soon after left Nicolosi , and in an hour and a half's travelling , over barren ashes and lava , we arrived on the confines of the Regione Silvosa , or the Temperate Zone. As soon as we entered these delightful forests , we seemed to have got into another world. The air , which before was sultry and hot , was now cool and refreshing ; and every breeze was loaded with a thousand perfumes , the whole ground being covered over with the richest aromatic plants. Many parts of this region are surely the most heavenly spots upon earth ; and if *Ætna* resembles hell within , it may with equal justice be said to resemble paradise without.

It is indeed a curious consideration , that this mountain should reunite every beauty and every horror ; and , in short , all the most opposite and dissimilar objects in nature. Here you observe a gulph , that formerly threw out torrents of fire , now covered with the most luxuriant vegetation ; and from an object of terrour , become one of delight. Here you gather the most delicious fruit , rising from what was but lately a black and barren rock. Here the ground is covered with every flower ; and we wander over these beauties , and contemplate this wilderness of sweets , without considering that hell , with all its terrors , is immediately under our feet ; and that but a few yards separate us from lakes of liquid fire and brimstone.

But our astonishment still increases , on casting our eyes on the higher regions of the mountain. There we behold , in perpetual union , the two elements

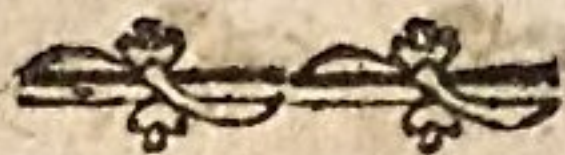


ments that are at perpetual war; an immense gulph of fire, for ever existing in the midst of snows which it has not power to melt; and immense fields of snow and ice for ever surrounding this gulph of fire, which they have not power to extinguish.

The woody region of *Ætna* ascends for about eight or nine miles, and forms a zone or girdle, of the brightest green, all around the mountain. This night we passed through little more than the half of it; arriving some time before sun-set at our lodgings, which was no other than a large cave, formed by one of the most antient and venerable lavas. It is called *la Spelonca delle Capriole*, or the goats cavern, because frequented by those animals; who take refuge there in bad weather.

Here we were delighted with the contemplation of many grave and beautiful objects; the prospect on all sides is immense; and we already seem to be lifted up from the earth, and to have got into a new world.

Our cavern is surrounded by the most stately and majestic oaks; of the dry leaves of which, we made very comfortable beds; and with our hatchets, which we had brought on purpose, we cut down great branches, and, in a short time, had a fire large enough to roast an ox. I observed my thermometer, and found, from 71 at *Nicolosi*, it had now fallen below 60. The barometer stood at 24: 2. In one end of our cave we still found a great quantity of snow, which seemed to be sent there on purpose for us, as there was no water to be found. With this we filled our tea-kettle, as tea and bread and butter was the only supper we had provided; and



and probably the best one to prevent us from being overcome by sleep or fatigue.

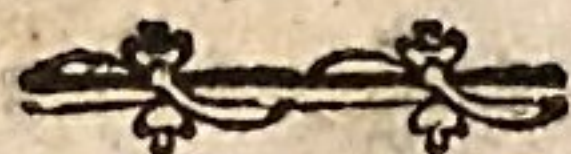
Not a great way from this cavern, are two of the most beautiful mountains of all that number that spring from *Ætna*. I mounted one of our best mules, and with a good deal of difficulty arrived at the summit of the highest of them, just a little before sun-set. The prospect of Sicily, with the surrounding sea and all its islands, was wonderfully noble. The whole course of the river *Semetus*, the ruins of *Hybla*, and several other antient towns; the rich corn-fields and vineyards on the lower region of the mountain, and the amazing number of beautiful mountains below, made a delightful scene. The hollow craters of these two mountains are each of them considerably larger than that of *Vesuvius*. They are now filled with stately oaks, and covered to a great depth with the richest soil. I observed that this region of *Ætna*, like the former, is composed of lava; but this is now covered so deep with earth, that it is no where to be seen, but in the beds of the torrents. In many of these it is worn down by the water to the depth of fifty or sixty feet, and in one of them still considerably more. — What an idea does not this give of the amazing antiquity of the eruptions of this mountain!

As soon as it was dark we retired to our cave and took possession of our bed of leaves. Our rest, however, was somewhat disturbed by the noise of a mountain that lay a good way off on our right. It discharged quantities of smoke, and made several explosions like heavy cannon at a distance; but what is singular, we could observe no appearance of fire. — This mountain was formed by an eruption
in



in 1766, now upwards of four years ago; the fire of which is not yet extinguished, neither is the lava by any means cold. This lava spent its fury on a beautiful forest, which it laid waste to the extent of a good many miles. In many places it has run into gullies of a great depth, which it has filled up to the height, we are told, of 200 feet. It is in these places where it retains the greatest heat. On our road to-day we scrambled up this lava, and went a considerable way over its surface, which appeared perfectly cold; but it is certain, that in many places it still emits volumes of smoke, particularly after rain; and the people say, what I can readily believe, that this will continue to be the case for some years, where the lava is thickest. A solid body of fire some hundreds of feet thick, and of so great an extent, must certainly retain its heat for many years. The surface indeed soon becomes black and hard, and incloses the liquid fire within, in a kind of solid box, excluding all impressions from the external air or from the weather. Thus I have seen, many months after eruptions of mount Vesuvius, a bed of lava, though only of a few feet thick, has continued red-hot in the center long after the surface was cold; and a stick thrust into its crevices, instantly took fire, although there was no perceptible heat without.

Massa, a Sicilian author of credit, says, he was at Catania eight years after the great eruption in 1669, and that he still found the lava in many places was not cold: But there is an easy method of calculating the time that bodies take to cool:—Sir Isaac Newton, I think, in his account of the comet of 1680, supposes the times to be as the squares of their diameters; and finding that a solid
ball

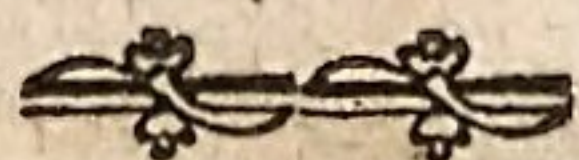


ball of metal of two inches , made red-hot , required upwards of an hour to become perfectly cold , made the calculation from that to a body of the diameter of the earth , and found it would require upwards of twenty thousand years. If this rule be just , you may easily compute the time that the lava will take to become thoroughly cold ; and that you may have time to do so , I shall here break off my letter , which I am obliged to write in bed , in a very awkward and disagreeable posture ; the cause of which shall be explained to you in my next. Adieu.

Ever yours.

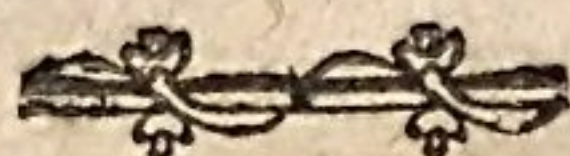
Catania , May 29th , at night.

AFTER getting a comfortable nap on our bed of leaves in the Spelonca delle Capriole , we awoke about eleven o'clock ; and melting down a sufficient quantity of snow , we boiled our tea-kettle , and made a hearty meal , to prepare us for the remaining part of our expedition. We were nine in number ; for we had our three servants , the Cyclops (our conductor) and two men to take care of our mules. The Cyclops now began to display his great knowledge of the mountain , and we followed him with implicit confidence. He conducted us over "Antres vast, and Desarts wild", where scarce human foot had ever trod. Sometimes through gloomy forests , which by day - light were delightful ; but now , from the universal darkness , the rustling of the trees ; the heavy , dull bellowing of the mountain ; the vast expanse of ocean
stret-



stretched at an immense distance below us , inspired a kind of awful horror. Sometimes we found ourselves ascending great rocks of lava , where , if our mules should make but a false step , we might be thrown headlong over the precipice. However, by the assistance of the Cyclops , we overcame all these difficulties ; and he managed matters so well, that in the space of two hours we found we had got above the regions of vegetation ; and had left the forests of *Ætna* far behind. These appeared now like a dark and gloomy gulph below us , that surrounded the mountain.

The prospect before us was of a very different nature ; we beheld an expanse of snow and ice that alarmed us exceedingly , and almost staggered our resolution. In the center of this , but still at a great distance , we descried the high summit of the mountain , rearing its tremendous head , and vomiting out torrents of smoke. It indeed appeared altogether inaccessible , from the vast extent of the fields of snow and ice that surrounded it. Our diffidence was still increased by the sentiments of the Cyclops. He told us , it often happened , that the surface of the mountain being hot below , melted the snow in particular spots , and formed pools of water , where it was impossible to foresee our danger ; that it likewise happened , that the surface of the water , as well as the snow , was sometimes covered with black ashes , that rendered it exceedingly deceitful ; that however , if we thought proper , he should lead us on with as much caution as possible. Accordingly, after holding a council of war , which you know people generally do when they are very much afraid, we detached our cavalry to the forest below , and prepared to climb the snows. The Cyclops, after
taking

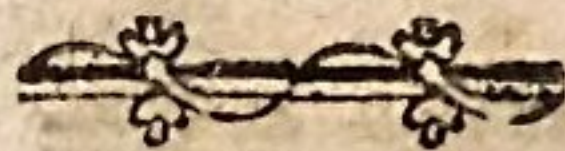


taking a great draught of brandy, desired us to be of good cheer; that we had plenty of time, and might take as many rests as we pleased. That the snow could be little more than seven miles, and that we certainly should be able to pass it before sunrise. Accordingly, taking each of us a dram of liqueur, which soon removed every objection, we began our march.

The ascent for some time was not steep; and as the surface of the snow sunk a little, we had tolerable good footing; but as it soon began to grow steeper, we found our labour greatly increase: however, we determined to persevere, calling to mind in the midst of our labour, that the emperor Adrian and the philosopher Plato had undergone the same, and from the same motive too, to see the rising sun from the top of *Ætna*. After incredible labour and fatigue, but at the same time mixed with a great deal of pleasure, we arrived before dawn at the ruins of an antient structure, called *La Torre del Filosofo*, supposed to have been built by the philosopher Empedocles, who took up his habitation here, the better to study the nature of mount *Ætna*. By others it is supposed to be the ruins of a temple of Vulcan, whose shop, all the world knows (where he used to make excellent thunderbolts and celestial armour, as well as nets to catch his wife when she went astray) was ever kept in mount *Ætna*. Here we rested ourselves for some time, and made a fresh application to our liqueur-bottle, which I am persuaded, both Vulcan and Empedocles, had they been here, would have greatly approved of after such a march.



I found the mercury had fallen to 20: 6. We had now time to pay our adorations in a silent contemplation of the sublime objects of nature. The sky was clear, and the immense vault of the heavens appeared in awful majesty and splendour. We found ourselves more struck with veneration than below, and at first were at a loss to know the cause; till we observed with astonishment, that the number of stars seemed to be infinitely increased; and the light of each of them appeared brighter than usual. The whiteness of the milky way was like a pure flame that shot across the heavens; and with the naked eye we could observe clusters of stars that were invisible in the regions below. We did not at first attend to the cause, nor recollect that we had now passed through ten or twelve thousand feet of gross vapour, that blunts and confuses every ray, before it reaches the surface of the earth. We were amazed at the distinctness of vision, and exclaimed together, What a glorious situation for an observatory! had Empedocles had the eyes of Galileo, what discoveries must he not have made! We regretted that Jupiter was not visible, as I am persuaded we might have discovered some of his satellites with the naked eye, or at least with a small glass which I had in my pocket. We observed a light a great way below us on the mountain, which seemed to move amongst the forests, but whether an *Ignis Fatuus*, or what it was, I shall not pretend to say. We likewise took notice of several of those meteors called Falling Stars, which still appeared to be as much elevated above us, as when seen from the plain; so that in all probability, those bodies move in regions much beyond the bounds that some philosophers have assigned to our atmosphere.



After contemplating the objects for some time, we set off, and soon after arrived at the foot of the great crater of the mountain. This is of an exact conical figure, and rises equally on all sides. It is composed solely of ashes and other burnt materials, discharged from the mouth of the volcano, which is in its center. This conical mountain is of a very great size; its circumference cannot be less than ten miles. Here we took a second rest, as the greatest part of our fatigue still remained. The mercury had fallen to 20: 4 $1\frac{1}{2}$. — We found this mountain excessively steep; and although it had appeared black, yet it was likewise covered with snow, but the surface (luckily for us) was spread over with a pretty thick layer of ashes, thrown out from the crater. Had it not been for this, we never should have been able to get to the top; as the snow was every where frozen hard and solid, from the piercing cold of the air.

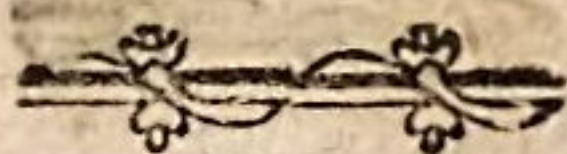
In about an hour's climbing, we arrived at a place where there was no snow; and where a warm and comfortable vapour issued from the mountain, which induced us to make another halt. Here I found the mercury at 19: 6 $1\frac{1}{2}$. The thermometer was fallen three degrees below the point of congelation; and before we left the summit of *Ætna*, it fell two degrees more, viz, to 27. — From this spot it was only about 300 yards to the highest summit of the mountain, where we arrived in full time, to see the most wonderful and most sublime sight in nature.

But here description must ever fall short; for no imagination has dared to form an idea of so glorious and so magnificent a scene. Neither is there
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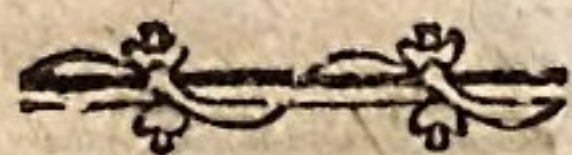


on the surface of this globe, any one point that unites so many awful and sublime objects. — The immense elevation from the surface of the earth, drawn as it were to a single point, without any neighbouring mountain for the senses and imagination to rest upon; and recover from their astonishment in their way down to the world. This point or pinnacle, raised on the brink of a bottomless gulph, as old as the world, often discharging rivers of fire, and throwing out burning rocks, with a noise that shakes the whole island. Add to this, the unbounded extent of the prospect, comprehending the greatest diversity and the most beautiful scenery in nature; with the rising sun, advancing in the east, to illuminate the wondrous scene.

The whole atmosphere by degrees kindled up, and shewed dimly and faintly the boundless prospect around. Both sea and land looked dark and confused, as if only emerging from their original chaos; and light and darkness seemed still undivided; till the morning by degrees advancing, completed the separation. — The stars are extinguished, and the shades disappear. The forests, which but now seemed black and bottomless gulphs, from whence no ray was reflected to shew their form or colours, appear a new creation rising to the sight; catching life and beauty from every increasing beam. The scene still enlarges, and the horizon seems to widen and expand itself on all sides; till the sun, like the great Creator, appears in the east, and with his plastic ray completes the mighty scene. All appears enchantment; and it is with difficulty we can believe we are still on earth. The senses, unaccustomed to the sublimity of such a scene, are bewildered and confounded; and it is not till after some time, that they



capable of separating and judging of the objects that compose it. — The body of the sun is seen rising from the ocean, immense tracks both of sea and land intervening; the islands of Lipari, Panari, Alicudi, Strombolo, and Volcano, with their smoking summits, appear under your feet; and you look down on the whole of Sicily as on a map; and can trace every river through all its windings, from its source to its mouth. The view is absolutely boundless on every side; nor is there any one object, within the circle of vision, to interrupt it; so that the sight is every where lost in the immensity: and I am persuaded it is only from the imperfection of our organs, that the coasts of Africa, and even of Greece, are not discovered, as they are certainly above the horizon. The circumference of the visible horizon on the top of *Ætna* cannot be less than 2000 miles: At *Malta*, which is near 200 miles distant, they perceive all the eruptions from the second region; and that island is often discovered from about one half the elevation of the mountain; so that at the whole elevation, the horizon must extend to near double that distance, or 400 miles, which makes 800 for the diameter of the circle, and 2400 for the circumference. But this is by much too vast for our senses, not intended to grasp so boundless a scene. I find, indeed, by some of the Sicilian authors, particularly *Massa*, that the African coast, as well as that of *Naples*, with many of its islands, have been discovered from the top of *Ætna*. Of this, however, we cannot boast, though we can very well believe it. Indeed if we knew the height of the mountain, it would be easy to calculate the extent of its visible horizon; and (vice versa) if its visible horizon was exactly ascertained, it would be an easy matter to calculate the height of
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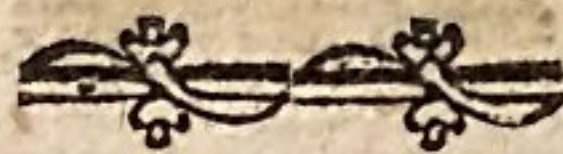


the mountain. — But the most beautiful part of the scene is certainly the mountain itself ; the island of Sicily , and the numerous islands lying round it. All these , by a kind of magic in vision , that I am at a loss to account for , seem as if they were brought close round the skirts of *Ætna* ; the distances appearing reduced to nothing. — Perhaps this singular effect is produced by the rays of light passing from a rarer medium into a denser ; which (from a well known law in Optics) to an observer in the rare medium , appears to lift up the objects that are at the bottom of the dense one ; as a piece of money placed in a basin appears lifted up as soon as the basin is filled with water.

The Regione Deserta , or the frigid zone of *Ætna* , is the first object that calls your attention. It is marked out by a circle of snow and ice , which extends on all sides to the distance of about eight miles. In the center of this circle , the great crater of the mountain rears its burning head , and the regions of intense cold and of intense heat seem for ever to be united in the same point. — On the north side of the snowy region , they assure us , there are several small lakes that are never thawed ; and that in many places , the snow , mixed with the ashes and salts of the mountain , is accumulated to a vast depth : And indeed I suppose the quantity of salts contained in this mountain , is one great reason of the preservation of its snows. — The Regione Deserta is immediately succeeded by the Silvosa , or the woody region ; which forms a circle or girdle of the most beautiful green , which surrounds the mountain on all sides , and is certainly one of the most delightful spots on earth. This presents a remarkable contrast with the desert region. It is not

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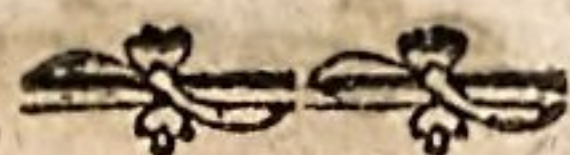
smooth



smooth and even like the greatest part of the latter ; but is finely variegated by an infinite number of those beautiful little mountains that have been formed by the different eruptions of Ætna. — All these have now acquired a wonderful degree of fertility, except a very few that are but newly formed ; that is, within these five or six hundred years : For it certainly requires some thousands to bring them to their greatest degree of perfection. We looked down into the craters of these, and attempted, but in vain, to number them.

The circumference of this zone or great circle on Ætna is not less than 70 or 80 miles. It is every where succeeded by the vineyards, and corn-fields that compose the Regione Culta, or the fertile region. This last zone is much broader than the others, and extends on all sides to the foot of the mountain. Its whole circumference, according to Recupero, is 183 miles. It is likewise covered with a number of little conical and spherical mountains, and exhibits a wonderful variety of forms and colours, and makes a delightful contrast with the other two regions. It is bounded by the sea to the south and south-east, and on all its other sides by the rivers Semetis and Alcantara, which run almost round it. The whole course of these rivers is seen at once, and all their beautiful windings through these fertile valleys, looked upon as the favourite possession of Ceres herself, and the very scene of the rape of her daughter Proserpine.

Cast your eyes a little farther, and you embrace the whole island, and see all its cities, rivers and mountains, delineated in the great chart of Nature : All the adjacent islands, the whole coast
of



of Italy, as far as your eye can reach; for it is nowhere bounded, but every where lost in the space. On the sun's first rising, the shadow of the mountain extends across the whole island, and makes a large track visible even in the sea and in the air. By degrees this is shortened, and, in a little time, is confined only to the neighbourhood of *Ætna*.

We now had time to examine a fourth region of this wonderful mountain, very different indeed, from the others, and productive of very different sensations; but which has, undoubtedly, given being to all the rest; I mean the region of fire.

The present crater of this immense volcano is a circle of about three miles and a half in circumference. It goes shelving down on each side, and forms a regular hollow like a vast amphitheatre. From many places of this space, issue volumes of sulphureous smoke, which, being much heavier than the circumambient air, instead of rising in it, as smoke generally does, immediately on its getting out of the crater, rolls down the side of the mountain like a torrent, till coming to that part of the atmosphere of the same specific gravity with itself, it shoots off horizontally, and forms a large track in the air, according to the direction of the wind; which, happily for us, carried it exactly to the side opposite to that where we were placed. The crater is so hot, that it is very dangerous, if not impossible, to go down into it; besides, the smoke is very incommodious, and, in many places, the surface is so soft, there have been instances of people sinking down in it, and paying for their temerity with their lives. Near the center of the crater is the great mouth of the volcano: That tremendous gulph so



celebrated in all ages , looked upon as the terror and scourge both of this and another life ; and equally useful to ancient poets , or to modern divines , when the Muse , or when the Spirit inspires. We beheld it with awe and with horror , and were not surpris'd that it had been considered as the place of the damned. When we reflect on the immensity of its depth , the vast cells and caverns whence so many lavas have issued ; the force of its internal fire , to raise up those lavas to so vast a height , to support it as it were in the air , and even force it over the very summit of the crater , with all the dreadful accompaniments ; the boiling of the matter , the shaking of the mountain , the explosions of flaming rocks , &c. we must allow , that the most enthusiastic imagination , in the midst of all its terrors , hardly ever formed an idea of a hell more dreadful.

It was with a mixture both of pleasure and pain , that we quitted this awful scene. But the wind had risen very high , and clouds began to gather round the mountain : In a short time they formed like another heaven below us , and we were in hopes of seeing a thunder - storm under our feet : A scene that is not uncommon in these exalted regions , and which I have already seen on the top of the high Alps : But the clouds were soon dispelled again by the force of the wind , and we were disappointed in our expectations.

I had often been told of the great effect produced by discharging a gun on the top of high mountains. I tried it here , when we were a good deal surpris'd to find , that instead of increasing the sound , it was almost reduced to nothing. The report was not equal to that of a pocket - pistol : We compared
it

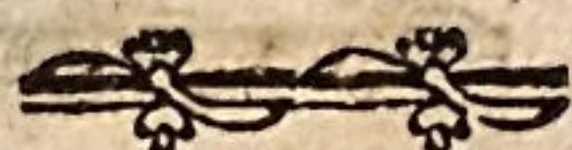


it to the stroke of a stick on a door ; and surely it is consistent with reason , that the thinner the air is, the less its impressi^on must be on the ear ; for in a vacuum there can be no noise , or no impressi^on can be made ; and the nearer the approach to a vacuum , the impressi^on must always be the smaller. Where those great effects have been produced , it must have been amongst a number of mountains, where the sound is reverberated from one to the other.

When we arrived at the foot of the cone , we observed some rocks of an incredible size , that have been discharged from the crater. The largest that has been observed from Vesuvius , is a round one of about twelve feet diameter. These are much greater ; indeed almost in proportion of the mountains to each other.

On our arrival at the Torre del Filosofo , we could not help admiring , that the ruins of this structure have remained uncovered for so many ages , so near the top of Ætna , when thousands of places at a great distance from it , have been repeatedly buried by its lavas , in a much shorter time. A proof that few eruptions have risen so high in the mountain.

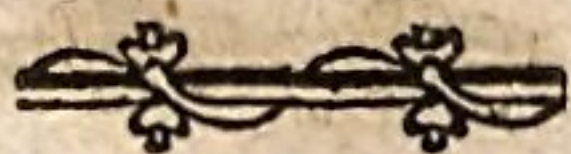
Empedocles was a native of Agrigentum , and is supposed to have died 400 years before the Christian æra. Perhaps his vanity more than his philosophy led him to this elevated situation ; nay , it is said to have carried him still much farther : — That he might be looked upon as a god , and that the people might suppose he was taken up to heaven, he is recorded to have thrown himself headlong into



the great gulph of mount Ætna , never supposing that his death could be discovered to mankind ; but the treacherous mountain threw out his slippers , which were of brass , and announced to the world the fate of the philosopher , who , by his death , as well as life , wanted only to impose upon mankind , and make them believe that he was greater than they.

However , if there is such a thing as philosophy on earth , this surely ought to be its seat. The prospect is little inferior to that from the summit ; and the mind enjoys a degree of serenity here , that even few philosophers , I believe , could ever boast of on that tremendous point. — All Nature lies expanded below your feet , in her gayest and most luxuriant dress , and you still behold united under one point of view , all the seasons of the year , and all the climates of the earth. The meditations are ever elevated in proportion to the grandeur and sublimity of the objects that surround us ; and here , where you have all Nature to arouse your admiration , what mind can remain inactive?

It has likewise been observed , and from experience I can say with truth ; that on the tops of the highest mountains , where the air is so pure and refined ; and where there is not that immense weight of gross vapours pressing upon the body ; the mind acts with greater freedom , and all the functions both of soul and body are performed in a superior manner. It would appear , that in proportion as we are raised above the habitations of men , all low and vulgar sentiments are left behind ; and that the soul , in approaching the æthereal regions , shakes off its earthly affections , and already acquires something of



of their celestial purity. — Here, where you stand under a serene sky, and behold, with equal serenity, the tempest and storm forming below your feet; the lightening, darting from cloud to cloud, and the thunder rolling round the mountain, and threatening with destruction the poor wretches below; the mind considers the little storms of the human passions as equally below her notice. — Surely the situation alone, is enough to inspire philosophy, and Empedocles had good reason for choosing it.

But, alas! how vain are all our reasonings! In the very midst of these meditations, my philosophy was at once overset, and in a moment I found myself relapsed into a poor miserable mortal; was obliged to own, that pain was the greatest of evils; and would have given the world to have been once more arrived at those humble habitations, which but a moment before, I had looked down upon with such contempt. — In running over the ice, my leg folded under me, and I received so violent a sprain, that in a few minutes it swelled to a great degree, and I found myself unable to put my foot to the ground. Every muscle and fibre was at that time chilled and froze by the extreme cold, the thermometer continuing still below the point of congelation. It was this circumstance, I suppose, that made the pain so violent; for I lay a considerable time on the ice in great agony: However, in these exalted regions, it was impossible to have a horse, or a carriage of any kind; and your poor philosopher was obliged to hop on one leg, with two men supporting him, for several miles over the snow; and our wags here allege, that he
left



left the greatest part of his philosophy behind him , for the use of Empedocles's heirs and successors.

I was happy to get to my mule , but when I once more found myself on our bed of leaves in the Spelonca delle Capriole , I thought I was in Paradise : So true it is , that a removal of pain is the greatest of pleasures. The agony I suffered , had thrown me into a profuse sweat and a fever ; however , in an instant I fell fast asleep , and in an hour and a half , awaked in perfect health. We had an excellent dish of tea , the most refreshing and agreeable I ever drank in all my life.

We left the summit of the mountain about six o'clock , and it was eight at night before we reached Catania. — We observed , both with pleasure and pain , the change of the climate as we descended. — From the regions of the most rigid winter , we soon arrived at those of the most delightful spring. On first entering the forests , the trees were still bare as in December , not a single leaf to be seen ; but after we had descended a few miles , we found ourselves in the mildest , and the softest of climates ; the trees in full verdure , and the fields covered with all the flowers of the summer ; but as soon as we got out of the woods , and entered the torrid zone , we found the heats altogether insupportable , and suffered dreadfully from them before we reached the city. On the road I saw many mountains which I intended to have visited ; but my sprain put it out of my power. One of the most remarkable is called the Monte Pelluse , the lava of which destroyed the great aqueduct of Catania for eighteen miles. It has here and there left a few arches ; but nothing of any consequence.

Not

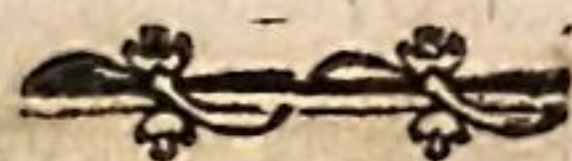


Not far from this mountain stands the Monte Victoria, one of the most beautiful of all the numerous family of *Ætna*. It is of a pretty large size, and perfectly regular, and seems to be in the gayest dress of any. Many of its trees, which, at a distance, we took to be oranges and citrons, appeared to be in full blow. It was the lava of this mountain that is said to have covered up the port of Ulysses, which is now three miles distant from the sea; but I should suppose this eruption to have been much older than either Ulysses or Troy.

On our arrival at Catania, we went immediately to bed, being exceedingly oppressed by the fatigue of our expedition; but still more by the violent heat of the day. A day, in which, I think, I have enjoyed a greater degree of pleasure, and suffered a greater degree of pain, than in any other day of my life.

As my leg continues very much swelled, I am still confined to my room, and mostly, indeed, to my bed, from whence I have written you the greatest part of these two epistles, the enormous length of which I am ashamed of. However, as I have still omitted several articles, that I intended to take notice of, I shall add a sequel to - morrow; and so conclude my account of mount *Ætna*. Had it not been for this abominable sprain, that holds me fast by the foot, you probably had not got off so easily; but I am obliged to drop all farther thoughts of climbing mountains, though there are many things I still wanted to examine. Adieu.

Ever yours.



An Account of a military Feast at Geneva.*)

Geneva.

ALTHOUGH the republic of Geneva has long continued in a profound peace, and there is no great probability of its being soon engaged in bloody conflict, yet the citizens of Geneva are not the less fond of the pomp of war.

This appears in what they call their military feasts, which are their most favourite amusements, and which they take every opportunity of enjoying.

I was present lately at a very grand entertainment of this kind, which was given by the King of the Arquebusiers upon his accession to the royal dignity.

This envied rank is neither transmitted by hereditary right, nor obtained by election; but gained by skill and real merit.

A war with this state, like the war of Troy, must necessarily consist of a siege. The skilful use of the cannon and arquebuse is therefore thought to be of the greatest importance. During several months every year, a considerable number of the citizens are almost constantly employed in firing at a mark, which is placed at a proper distance.

Any citizen has a right, at a small expence, to make trial of his skill in this way; and after a due number of trials, the most expert marksman is declared King.

*) By Dr. John Moore.



There has not been a coronation of this kind these ten years, his late Majesty having kept peaceable possession of the throne during that period. But this Summer, Mr. Moses Maudrier was found to excel in skill every competitor; and was raised to the throne by the unanimous voice of the judges.

He was attended to his own house from the field of contest by the Syndics, amidst the acclamations of the people. Some time after this, on the day of his feast, a camp was formed on a plain, without the gates of the city.

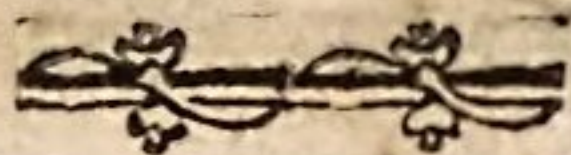
Here the whole forces of the republic, both horse and foot, were assembled, and divided into two distinct armies. They were to perform a battle in honour of his Majesty, all the combatants having previously studied their parts.

This very ingenious, warlike drama had been composed by one of the reverend ministers, who is said to possess a very extensive military genius.

That the ladies and people of distinction, who were not to be actually engaged, might view the action with greater ease and safety, a large amphitheatre of seats was prepared for them, at a convenient distance from the field of battle.

Every thing being in readiness, the Syndics, the Council, strangers of distinction, and the relations and favourites of the King, assembled at his Majesty's palace, which is a little snug house, situated in a narrow lane in the lower part of the city. From the palace, the procession set out in the following order:

His



His Majesty walked first , supported by the two oldest Syndics.

In the next rank was the Duke of H——, with the youngest.

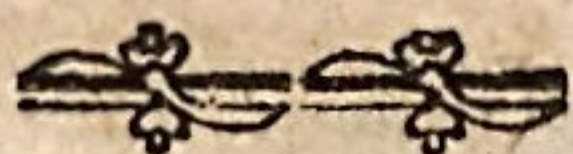
After these , walked Lord St——pe , the Prince Gallitzen , — Mr. Cl——ve , son to Lord Cl——ve ; Mr. Gr——lle , son to the late Minister ; Mr. St. L——, and many other English gentlemen , who had been invited to the feast.

Next to them came the Council of twenty-five ; and the procession was closed by the King's particular friends and relations.

In this order they marched through the city , preceded by a band of music , who played , as you may believe , the most martial tunes they possibly could think of.

When this company came to the field where the troops were drawn up , they were saluted by the officers ; and having made a complete circuit of both armies , the King and all his attendants took their seats at the amphitheatre , which had been prepared for that purpose.

The impatience of the troops had been very visible for some time. When the King was seated, their ardour could be no longer restrained. They called loudly to their officers to lead them to glory. — The signal was given. — They advanced to the attack in the most undaunted manner. — Conscious that they fought under the eyes of their King , the Syndics , of their wives , children , mothers and grandmothers , they disdained the thoughts
of



of retreat. — They stood undisturbed by the thickest fire. They smiled at the roaring of the cannon, and like the horse in Job, they cried among the trumpets, ha, ha!

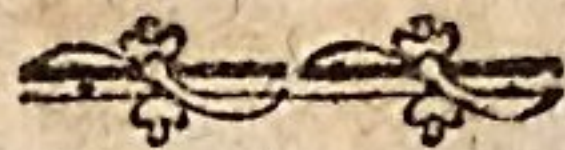
The ingenious author of the battle had taken care to diversify it with several entertaining incidents.

An ambuscade was placed by one of the armies, behind some trees, to surprise the enemy. — This succeeded to a miracle, although the ambuscade was posted in the sight of both armies, and all the spectators.

A convoy with provisions, advancing towards one of the armies, was attacked by a detachment from the other; and after a smart skirmish, one half of the waggons were carried away by the assailants: — The other remained with the troops for whom they seemed to have been originally intended.

A wooden bridge was briskly attacked, and as resolutely defended; but at length was trod to pieces by both armies; for, in the fury of the fight, the combatants forgot whether this poor bridge was their friend or their foe. By what means it got into the midst of the battle, I never could conceive; for there was neither river, brook, nor ditch in the whole field.

The cavalry on both sides performed wonders. — It was difficult to determine which of the generals distinguished himself most. They were both dressed in clothes exuberantly covered with lace; for



for the sumptuary laws were suspended for this day, that the battle might be as magnificent as possible.

As neither of these gallant commanders would consent to the being defeated, the reverend author of the engagement could not make the catastrophe so decisive and affecting as he intended.

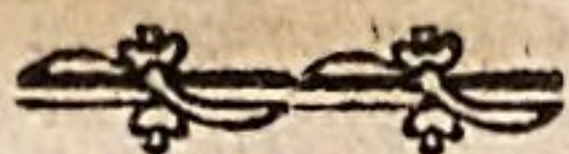
While Victory, with equipoised wings hovered over both armies, a messenger arrived from the town-hall with intelligence that dinner was ready. This news quickly spread among the combatants, and had an effect similar to that which the Sabine women produced when they rushed between their ravishers and their relations. — The warriors of Geneva relented at once; and both armies suspended their animosity, in the contemplation of that which they both loved. — They threw down their arms, shook hands, and were friends.

Thus ended the battle. — I don't know how it will affect you; but it has fatigued me so completely, that I have lost all appetite for the feast, which must therefore be delayed till another post.

Geneva.

THE same company which had attended the King to the field of battle, marched with him in procession from that to the Maison de Ville, where a sumptuous entertainment was prepared.

This



This was exactly the reverse of a fête champêtre, being held in the town-house, and in the middle of the streets adjacent; where tables were covered, and dinner provided, for several hundreds of the officers and soldiers.

The King, the Syndics, most of the members of the Council, and all the strangers, dined in the town-hall. The other rooms, as well as the outer court, were likewise full of company.

There was much greater havoc at dinner than had been at the battle, and the entertainment in other respects was nearly as warlike.

A kettle-drum was placed in the middle of the hall, upon which a martial flourish was performed at every toast. This was immediately answered by the drums and trumpets without the hall, and the cannon of the bastion.

Prosperity to the republic is a favourite toast: — When this was announced by the first Syndic, all the company stood up with their swords drawn in one hand and glasses filled with wine in the other.

Having drank the toast, they clashed their swords, a ceremony always performed in every circle or club where there is a public dinner, as often as this particular toast is named. — It is an old custom, and implies that every man is ready to fight in defence of the republic.

After we had been about two hours at table, a new ceremony took place, which I expected as little in the middle of a feast. An hundred grenadiers, with their swords drawn, marched with great solemnity



nity into the middle of the hall , for the tables being placed in the form of a horse - shoe , there was vacant space in the middle sufficient to admit them.

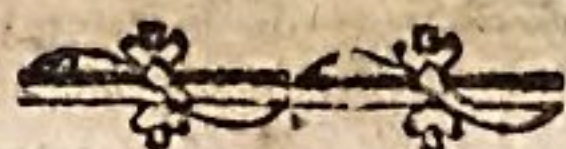
They desired permission to give a toast : This being granted , each of the grenadiers , by a well-timed movement , like a motion in the exercise , pulled from his pocket a large water - glass , which being immediately filled with wine , one of the soldiers , in the name of all , drank a health to King Moses the first. His example was followed by his companions and all the company , and was instantly honoured by the sound of the drums , trumpets, and artillery.

When the grenadiers had drank this , and a toast or two more , they wheeled about , and marched out of the hall with the same solemnity with which they had entered , resuming their places at the tables in the street.

Soon after this a man fantastically dressed entered the hall , and distributed among the company some printed sheets which seemed to have come directly from the press.

This proved to be a song made for the occasion, replete with gayety , wit , and good sense , pointing out , in a humorous strain , the advantages which the citizens of Geneva possessed , and exhorting them to unanimity , industry , and public spirit. — This ditty was sung by the man who brought it , while many of the company joined in the chorus.

When we descended from the town hall, we found the soldiers intermingled with their officers ,
still



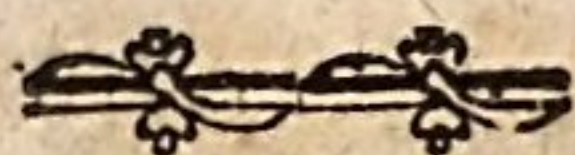
still seated at the tables in the streets, and encircled by their wives and children.

They all arose soon after, and dividing into different companies, repaired to the ramparts, the fields, and the gardens, where, with music and dancing, they continued in high glee during the rest of the evening.

The whole exhibition of the day, though no very just representation of the manœuvres of war, or the elegance of a court entertainment, formed the most lively picture of jollity, mirth, good humour and cordiality, that I had ever seen.

The inhabitants of a whole city, — of a whole state if you please, united in one scene of good fellowship, like a single family, is surely no common sight.

If this sketch conveys one half of the satisfaction to your mind, which the scene itself afforded mine, you will not think these two long letters tedious.



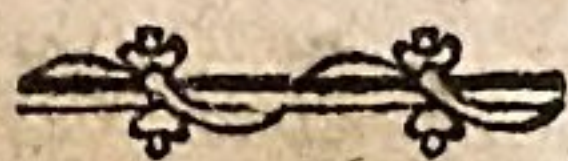
V.

Characters of some of the most eminent Personages of Ancient and Modern Times.

The Character of Epaminondas*.

EPAMINONDAS was born and educated in that honest poverty, which those less corrupted ages accounted the glorious mark of integrity and virtue. The instructions of a Pythagorean philosopher, to whom he was entrusted in his earliest years, formed him to all the temperance and sobriety peculiar to that sect, and were received with a docility and pleasure which bespoke an ingenious mind. Music, dancing, and all those arts which were accounted honourable distinctions at Thebes, he received from the greatest masters. In the athletic exercises, he became conspicuous, but soon learned to apply particularly to those which might prepare him for the labours and occasions of a military life. His modesty and gravity rendered him ready to hear and receive instruction; and his genius enabled him to learn and improve. A love of truth, a love of virtue, tenderness, and humanity, and an exalted patriotism he had learned, and soon displayed. To these glorious qualities, he added penetration and sagacity, a happiness in improving every incident, a consummate skill in war, an unconquerable patience of toil and distress, a boldness in enterprise, vigour, and

* The Hist. of the Life and Reign of Philip, king of Macedon, by Dr. Leland, vol. i. p. 34. 35.



and magnanimity. Thus did he become great and terrible in war ; nor was he less distinguished by the gentler virtues of peace and retirement. He had a soul capable of the most exalted and disinterested friendship. The warmth of his benevolence supplied the deficiencies of his fortune ; his credit and good offices frequently were employed to gain that relief for the necessities of others , which his own circumstances could not grant them : within the narrow sphere of these , were his desires regularly confined ; no temptations could corrupt him ; no prospects of advantage could shake his integrity ; to the public he appeared unalterably and solely devoted ; nor could neglect or injuries abate his zeal for Thebes. All these illustrious qualities he adorned with that eloquence which was then in such repute , and appeared in council equally eminent , equally useful to his country , as in action. By him Thebes first rose to sovereign power , and with him she lost her greatness.

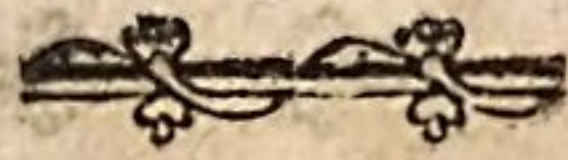
The Character of Marius*.

THE birth of Marius was obscure , though some call it equestrian , and his education wholly in camps ; where he learnt the first rudiments of war , under the greatest master of that age , the younger Scipio , who destroyed Carthage ; till by long service , distinguished valour , and a peculiar hardness and patience of discipline , he advanced himself gradually through all the steps of military honour , with the reputation of a brave and complete soldier.

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* Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero , 4to. vol. i. p. 24-26.



The obscurity of his extraction , which depressed him with the nobility , made him the greater favourite of the people ; who , on all occasions of danger , thought him the only man fit to be trusted with their lives and fortunes ; or to have the command of a difficult and desperate war : and in truth, he twice delivered them from the most desperate, with which they had ever been threatened by a foreign enemy. Scipio , from the observation of his martial talents , while he had yet but an inferior command in the army , gave a kind of prophetic testimony of his future glory : for being asked by some of his officers , who were supping with him at Numantia , what general the republic would have , in case of any accident to himself ; That man , replied he , pointing to Marius at the bottom of the table. In the field he was cautious and provident ; and while he was watching the most favourable opportunities of action , affected to take all his measures from Augurs and Diviners ; nor ever gave battle , till by pretended omens and divine admonitions he had inspired his soldiers with a confidence of victory : so that his enemies dreaded him , as something more than mortal ; and both friends and foes believed him to act always by a peculiar impulse and direction from the gods. His merit however was wholly military , void of every accomplishment of learning , which he openly affected to despise ; so that Arpinum had the singular felicity to produce the most glorious contemner , as well as the most illustrious improver , of the arts and eloquence of Rome*. He made no figure , therefore , in the gown , nor had any other way of sustaining his

* Arpinum was also the native city of Cicero.



his authority in the city, than by cherishing the natural jealousy between the senate and the people; that by his declared enmity to the one, he might always be at the head of the other; whose favour he managed, not with any view to the public good, for he had nothing in him of the statesman or the patriot, but to the advancement of his private interest and glory. In short, he was crafty, cruel, covetous, and perfidious; of a temper and talents greatly serviceable abroad, but turbulent and dangerous at home; an implacable enemy to the nobles, ever seeking occasions to mortify them, and ready to sacrifice the republic, which he had saved, to his ambition and revenge. After a life spent in the perpetual toils of foreign or domestic wars, he died at last in his bed, in a good old age, and in his seventh consulship; an honour that no Roman before him ever attained.

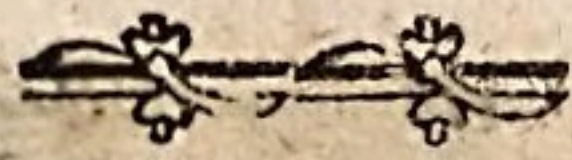
The Character of Sylla.*

SYLLA died after he had laid down the dictatorship, and restored liberty to the republic, and, with an uncommon greatness of mind, lived many months as a private senator and with perfect security, in that city where he had exercised the most bloody tyranny: but nothing was thought to be greater in his character, than that, during the three years in which the Marians were masters of Italy, he neither dissembled his resolution of pursuing them by arms, nor neglected the war which
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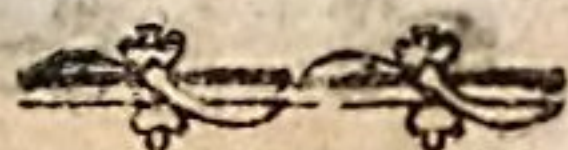
* Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero, 4to. vol. i. p. 48-50.



he had upon his hands ; but thought it his duty, first to chastise a foreign enemy , before he took his revenge upon citizens. His family was noble and patrician , which yet , through the indolency of his ancestors , had made no figure in the republic for many generations , and was almost sunk into obscurity , till he produced it again into light , by aspiring to the honours of the state. He was a lover and a patron of polite letters, having been carefully instituted himself in all the learning of Greece and Rome ; but from a peculiar gaiety of temper , and fondness for the company of mimics and players , was drawn, when young , into a life of luxury and pleasure ; so that when he was sent quæstor to Marius , in the Jugurthine war , Marius complained , that in so rough and desperate a service chance had given him so soft and delicate a quæstor. But whether roused by the example , or stung by the reproach of his general , he behaved himself in that charge with the greatest vigour and courage , suffering no man to outdo him in any part of military duty or labour , making himself equal and familiar even to the lowest of the soldiers , and obliging them all by his good offices and his money ; so that he soon acquired the favour of the army , with the character of a brave and skilful commander ; and lived to drive Marius himself, banished and proscribed , into that very province where he had been condemned by him at first as his quæstor. He had a wonderful faculty of concealing his passions and purposes , and was so different from himself in different circumstances , that he seemed as it were to be two men in one : no man was ever more mild and moderate before victory ; none more bloody and cruel after it. In war , he practised the same art that he had seen so successful to Marius , of raising a kind of en-



enthusiasm and contempt of danger in his army, by the forgery of auspices and divine admonitions; for which end, he carried always about with him, a little statue of Apollo, taken from the Temple of Delphi; and whenever he had resolved to give battle, used to embrace it in sight of the soldiers, and beg the speedy confirmation of its promises to him. From an uninterrupted course of success and prosperity, he assumed a surname, unknown before to the Romans, of Felix or the Fortunate; and would have been fortunate indeed, says Velleius, if his life had ended with his victories. Pliny calls it a wicked title, drawn from the blood and oppression of his country; for which posterity would think him more unfortunate, even than those whom he had put to death. He had one felicity however, peculiar to himself, of being the only man in history, in whom the odium of the most barbarous cruelties was extinguished by the glory of his great acts. Cicero, though he had a good opinion of his cause, yet detested the inhumanity of his victory, and never speaks of him with respect, nor of his government, but as a proper tyranny; calling him “a master,, of three most pestilent vices, luxury, avarice,, cruelty;” He was the first of his family, whose dead body was burnt: for having ordered Marius’s remains to be taken out of his grave, and thrown into the river Anio, he was apprehensive of the same insult upon his own, if left to the usual way of burial. A little before his death, he made his own epitaph, the sum of which was, “that no,, man had ever gone beyond him, in doing,, good to his friends, or hurt to his enemies.”

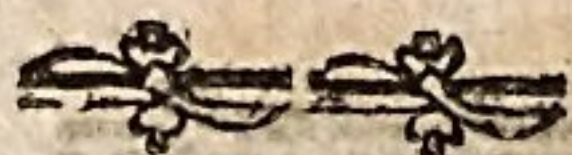


The Character of Sylla, by Dr. Adam Ferguson.

UPON the return of the elections, Sylla was again destined for one of the Consuls; but he declined this piece of flattery, and directed the choice to fall on P. Servilius and Appius Claudius. Soon after these magistrates entered on the discharge of their trust; the dictator appeared, as usual, in the Forum, attended by twenty-four lictors: but, instead of proceeding to any exercise of his power, made a formal resignation of it, dismissed his retinue, and, having declared to the People, that, if any one had any matter of charge against him, he was ready to answer it, continued to walk in the streets in the character of a private man, and afterwards retired to his villa near Cumæ, where he exercised himself in hunting and country amusements.

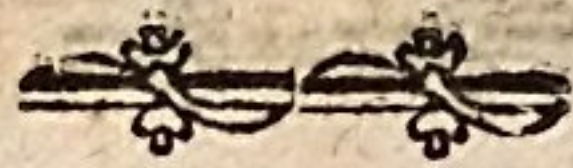
This resignation throws a new light on the character of Sylla, and leads to a favourable construction of some of the most exceptionable parts of his conduct. When, with the help of the comment it affords, we look back to the establishments he made while in power, they appear not to be the acts of a determined usurper, but to be fitted for a republican government, and for the restoration of that order which the violence and corruption of the times had suspended.

That he was actuated by a violent resentment of personal wrongs, cannot be questioned; but it is likewise evident, that he felt on proper occasions for the honour and preservation of his country, in the noblest sense of these words. In his first attack of the city with a military force, his actions showed, that



that he meant to rescue the republic from the usurpations of Marius, not to usurp the government himself. When he returned into Italy from the Mithridatic war, the state of parties already engaged in hostilities, and the violence done to the republic by those who pretended to govern it, will abundantly justify his having had recourse to arms. For the massacre which followed, it may be shocking to suppose that the evils of human life can require such a remedy: but the case was singular, exposed to disorders which required violent remedies, beyond what is known in the history of mankind. A populous city, the capital of a large country. whose inhabitants still pretended to act in a collective body, of whom every member would be a master, none would be a subject, become the joint sovereigns of many provinces, ready to spurn at all the institutions which were provided for the purposes of government over themselves, and at all the principles of justice and order which were required to regulate this government of others: where the gangrene spread in such a body, it was likely to require the amputation-knife. Men rushed into crimes in numerous bodies, or were led in powerful factions to any species of evil which suited their demagogues. Whatever may have been Sylla's choice among the instruments of reformation and cure, it is likely that the sword alone was that on which he could rely; and he used it like a person anxious to effect its purpose, not to recommend his art to those on whom it was to be practised.

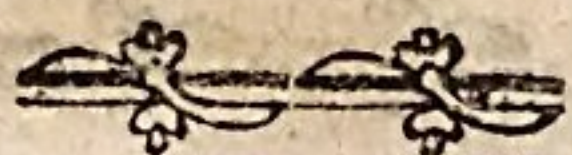
In his capacity of a political reformer, he had to work on the dregs of a corrupted republic; and although the effect fell short of what is ascribed to fabulous legislators and founders of states, yet to
none



none ever were ascribed more tokens of magnanimity and greatness of mind. He was superior to the reputation even of his own splendid actions; and, from simplicity or disdain, mixed perhaps with superstition, not from affected modesty, attributed his success to the effects of his good fortune and to the favour of the gods. While he bestowed on Pompey the title of Great, he himself was content with that of Fortunate. He was a man of letters, and passed the early part of his life in a mixture of dissipation and study. He wrote his own memoirs, or a journal of his life, often quoted by Plutarch, and continued it to within a few days of his death. A work possibly of little elegance, and even tainted, as we are told, with superstition; but more curious surely than many volumes corrected by the labours of retired study.

When tired of his youthful amusements, he sued for the honours of the State; but with so little appearance of any jealous or impatient ambition, that, if he had not been impelled by provocations into the violent course he pursued, it is probable that he would have been contented with the usual career of a prosperous Senator; would have disdained to encroach on the rights of his fellow-citizens, as much as he resented the encroachments that were made on his own, and never would have been heard of but on the Rolls of the Consuls, and in the record of his triumphs. But fortune destined him for a part still more conspicuous, and in which it may be thought, that, although none ever less studied the unnecessary appearances of humanity or a scrupulous morality, none ever more essentially served the persons with whom he was connected.

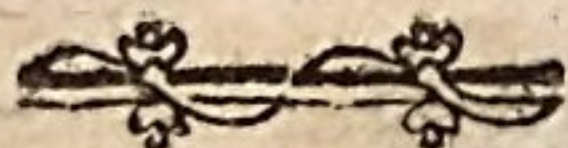
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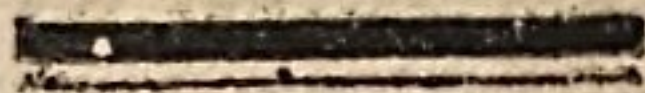
With respect to such a personage, circumstances of a trivial nature become subjects of attention. His hair and eyes, it is said, were of a light colour, his complexion fair, and his countenance blotched. He was, by the most probable accounts, four years old at the time of the sedition of Tiberius Gracchus, and seventeen at the death of Caius Gracchus; so that he might have perceived at this date the effect of tribunitian seditions, and taken the impressions from which he acted against them. He served the office of Quæstor under Marius in Africa at thirty-one; was Consul for the first time at forty-nine or fifty; was Dictator at fifty-six; resigned when turned of fifty-eight; and died yet under sixty, in the year which followed that of his resignation.

There remained in the city, at his death, a numerous body of new citizens who bore his name: in the country a still more numerous body of veteran officers and soldiers, who held estates by his gift: numbers throughout the empire, who owed their safety to his protection, and who ascribed the existence of the commonwealth itself to the exertions of his great ability and courage: numbers who, although they were offended with the severe exercise of his power, yet admired the magnanimity of his resignation.

When he was no longer an object of flattery, his corpse was carried in procession through Italy at the public expence. The fasces, and every other ensign of honour, were restored to the dead. Above two thousand golden crowns were fabricated in haste, by order of the towns and provinces he had protected, or of the private persons he had preserved,



ved , to testify their veneration for his memory. Roman matrons , whom it might be expected his cruelties would have affected with horror , lost every other sentiment in that of admiration , crowded to his funeral , and heaped the pile with perfumes. His obsequies were performed in the Campus Martius. The tomb was marked by his own directions with the following characteristical inscription: "Here
" lies Sylla , who never was outdone in good offices by his friend , nor in acts of hostility by his
" enemy." His merit or demerit in the principal transactions of his life may be variously estimated. His having slain so many citizens in cold blood , and without any form of law , if we imagine them to have been innocent , or if we conceive the republic to have been in a state to allow them a trial , must be considered as monstrous or criminal in the highest degree: but if none of these suppositions were just, if they were guilty of the greatest crimes , and were themselves the authors of that lawless state to which their country was reduced, his having saved the republic from the hands of such ruffians , and purged it of the vilest dreg that ever threatened to poison a free State , may be considered as meritorious. To satisfy himself , who was neither solicitous of praise nor dreaded censure , the strong impulse of his own mind , guided by indignation and the sense of necessity , was probably sufficient.

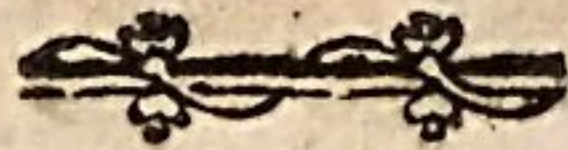




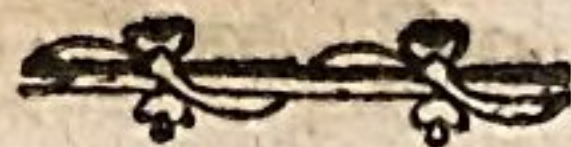
The Character of Pompey.*

POMPEY had early acquired the surname of the Great, by that sort of merit, which, from the constitution of the republic, necessarily made him Great; a fame and success in war, superior to what Rome had ever known, in the most celebrated of her generals. He had triumphed at three several times over the three different parts of the known world, Europe, Asia, Africa, and by his victories had almost doubled the extent, as well as the revenues of the Roman dominion; for as he declared to the people on his return from the Mithridatic war, he had found the lesser Asia the boundary, but left it the middle of their empire. He was about six years older than Cæsar; and while Cæsar immersed in pleasures, oppressed with debts, and suspected by all honest men, was hardly able to shew his head, Pompey was flourishing in the height of power and glory: and by the consent of all parties, placed at the head of the republic. This was the post that his ambition seemed to aim at, to be the first man in Rome; the leader, not the tyrant of his country; for he more than once had it in his power to have made himself the master of it without any risk; if his virtue, or his phlegm at least, had not restrained him: but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving from the gift of the people, what he did not care to seize by force; and by fomenting the disorders of the city, hoped to drive them to the necessity of creating him dictator. It is an observation of all the historians, that while Cæsar made no dif-

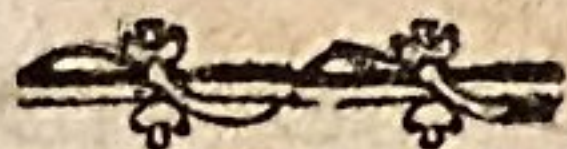
* Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero, 4to. vol. ii. p. 132-136.



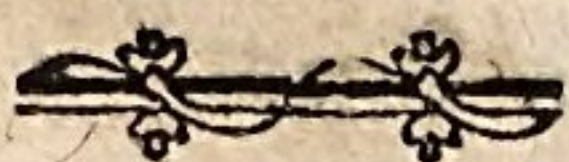
difference of power, whether it was conferred or usurped; whether over those who loved, or those who feared him; Pompey seemed to value none but what was offered; nor to have any desire to govern, but with the good will of the governed. What leisure he found from his wars, he employed in the study of polite letters, and especially of eloquence, in which he would have acquired great fame, if his genius had not drawn him to the more dazzling glory of arms; yet he pleaded several causes with applause, in the defence of his friends and clients; and some of them in conjunction with Cicero. His language was copious and elevated; his sentiments just; his voice sweet; his action noble, and full of dignity. But his talents were better formed for arms, than the gown: for though in both, he observed the same discipline; a perpetual modesty, temperance, and gravity of outward behaviour; yet in the licence of camps, the example was more rare and striking. His person was extremely graceful and imprinting respect; yet with an air of reserved haughtiness, which became the general better than the citizen. His parts were plausible, rather than great; specious, rather than penetrating; and his views of politics but narrow; for his chief instrument of governing was dissimulation; yet he had not always the art to conceal his real sentiments. As he was a better soldier than a statesman, so what he gained in the camp, he usually lost in the city; and though adored, when abroad, was often affronted and mortified at home, till the imprudent opposition of the senate drove him to that alliance with Crassus and Cæsar, which proved fatal both to himself and the republic. He took in these two, not as the partners, but the ministers rather of his power; that by giving them some share with him, he might



might make his own authority uncontrollable: he had no reason to apprehend that they could ever prove his rivals; since neither of them had any credit or character of that kind, which alone could raise them above the laws. a superior fame and experience in war, with the militia of the empire at their devotion: all this was purely his own; till by cherishing Cæsar, and throwing into his hands, the only thing which he wanted, arms, and military command; he made him at last too strong for himself, and never began to fear him, till it was too late. Cicero warmly dissuaded both his union, and his breach with Cæsar; and after the rupture, as warmly still, the thought of giving him battle: if any of these counsels had been followed, Pompey had preserved his life and honour, and the republic its liberty. But he was urged to his fate by a natural superstition, and attention to those vain auguries, with which he was flattered by all the Haruspices: he had seen the same temper in Marius and Sylla, and observed the happy effects of it: but they assumed it only out of policy, he out of principle. They used it to animate their soldiers, when they had found a probable opportunity of fighting; but he, against all prudence and probability, was encouraged by it to fight to his own ruin. He saw all his mistakes, at last, when it was out of his power to correct them; and in his wretched flight from Pharsalia, was forced to confess, that he had trusted too much to his hopes, and that Cicero had judged better, and seen farther into things than he. The resolution of seeking refuge in Egypt, finished the sad catastrophe of this great man; the father of the reigning prince had been highly obliged to him for his protection at Rome, and restoration to his kingdom; and the son had sent a considerable fleet



to his assistance in the present war: but in this ruin of his fortunes, what gratitude was there to be expected from a court governed by eunuchs and mercenary Greeks? all whose politics turned, not on the honour of the king, but the establishment of their own power; which was likely to be eclipsed by the admission of Pompey. How happy had it been for him to have died in that sickness, when all Italy was putting up vows and prayers for his safety? or if he had fallen by the chance of war on the plains of Pharsalia, in the defence of his country's liberty, he had died still glorious, though unfortunate; but, as if he had been reserved for an example of the instability of human greatness, he, who a few days before commanded kings and consuls, and all the noblest of Rome, was sentenced to die by a council of slaves; murdered by a base deserter; cast out naked and headless on the Egyptian strand; and when the whole earth, as Velleius says, had scarce been sufficient for his victories, could not find a spot upon it at last for a grave. His body was burnt on the shore by one of his freed-men, with the planks of an old fishing-boat; and his ashes being conveyed to Rome, were deposited privately by his wife Cornelia, in a vault of his Alban Villa. The Egyptians however raised a monument to him on the place, and adorned it with figures of brass, which being defaced afterwards by time, and buried almost in sand and rubbish, was sought out, and restored by the Emperor Hadrian.

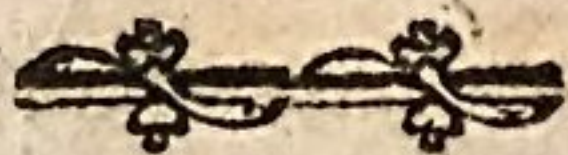


The Character of Julius Cæsar ,
by Dr. Middleton.*

CÆSAR was endowed with every great and noble quality, that could exalt human nature, and give a man the ascendant in society: formed to excel in peace, as well as war; provident in counsel; fearless in action; and executing what he had resolved with an amazing celerity: generous beyond measure to his friends; placable to his enemies; and for parts, learning, eloquence, scarce inferior to any man. His orations were admired for two qualities, which are seldom found together, strength and elegance: Cicero ranks him among the greatest orators that Rome ever bred; and Quintilian says, that he spoke with the same force with which he fought: and if he had devoted himself to the bar, would have been the only man capable of rivalling Cicero. Nor was he a master only of the politer arts; but conversant also with the most abstruse and critical parts of learning; and among other works, which he published, addressed two books to Cicero, on the analogy of language, or the art of speaking and writing correctly. He was a most liberal patron of wit and learning, wheresoever they were found; and out of his love of those talents, would readily pardon those, who had employed them against himself; rightly judging, that by making such men his friends, he should draw praises from the same fountain, from which he had been aspersed. His capital passions were ambition, and love of pleasure; which he indulged in their turns to the greatest excess: yet the first was always predominant; to which

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* Life of Cicero, vol. ii. p. 237.



he could easily sacrifice all the charms of the second, and draw pleasure even from toils and dangers, when they ministered to his glory. For he thought Tyranny, as Cicero says, the greatest of goddesses; and had frequently in his mouth a verse of Euripides, which expressed the image of his soul, that if right and justice were ever to be violated they were to be violated for the sake of reigning. This was the chief end and purpose of his life; the scheme that he had formed from his early youth; so that as Cato truly declared of him, he came with sobriety and meditation to the subversion of the republic. He used to say, that there were two things necessary to acquire and to support power; soldiers and money; which yet depended mutually on each other; with money therefore he provided soldiers; and with soldiers extorted money; and was of all men, the most rapacious in plundering both friends and foes; sparing neither prince nor state, nor temple, nor even private persons, who were known to possess any share of treasure. His great abilities would necessarily have made him one of the first citizens of Rome; but disdaining the condition of a subject, he could never rest, till he had made himself a monarch. In acting this last part, his usual prudence seemed to fail him: as if the height, to which he was mounted, had turned his head, and made him giddy: for, by a vain ostentation of his power, he destroyed the stability of it: and as men shorten life by living too fast, so by an intemperance of reigning, he brought his reign to a violent end.



The Character of Cato ,
by Dr. Middleton.*

IF we consider the character of Cato , without prejudice , he was certainly a great and worthy man ; a friend to truth , virtue , liberty : yet falsely measuring all duty by the absurd rigour of the stoical rule ; he was generally disappointed of the end , which he sought by it , the happiness both of his private and public life. In his private conduct , he was severe , morose , inexorable ; banishing all the softer affections , as natural enemies to justice , and as suggesting false motives of acting , from favour , clemency , and compassion : in public affairs he was the same ; had but one rule of policy ; to adhere to what was right , without regard to time or circumstances , or even to a force that could controul him ; for instead of managing the power of the great , so as to mitigate the ill , or extract any good from it , he was urging it always to acts of violence by a perpetual defiance ; so that , with the best intentions in the world , he often did great harm to the republic. This was his general behaviour ; yet , from some particular facts , it appears that his strength of mind was not always impregnable , but had its weak places of pride , ambition , and party zeal ; which when managed and flattered to a certain point , would betray him sometimes into measures contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The last act of his life was agreeable to his nature and philosophy ; when he could no longer be , what he had been ; or when the ills of life

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* Life of Cicero , vol. ii. p. 162.



overbalanced the good, which, by the principles of his sect, was a just cause for dying; he put an end to his life, with a spirit and resolution, which would make one imagine, that he was glad to have found an occasion of dying in his proper character. On the whole, his life was rather admirable, than amiable; fit to be praised, rather than imitated.

A Comparison of the political Principles and Conduct of Cato, Atticus, and Cicero.*

THE three sects, which chiefly engrossed the philosophical part of Rome, were the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Academic; and the chief ornaments of each were, Cato, Atticus, and Cicero; who lived together in strict friendship, and a mutual esteem of each other's virtue; but the different behaviour of these three, will shew by fact and example, the different merit of their several principles, and which of them was the best adapted to promote the good of society.

The Stoics were the bigots or enthusiasts in philosophy; who held none to be truly wise or good but themselves; placed perfect happiness in virtue, though stript of every other good; affirmed all sins to be equal, all deviations from right, equally wicked; to kill a dunghill-cock without reason, the same crime as to kill a parent; that a wise man could
never

* Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero, 4to. vol. ii. p. 564-566.



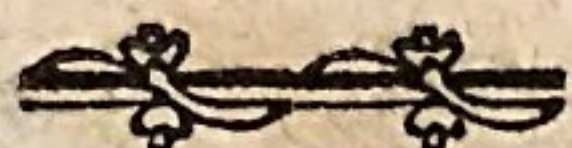
never forgive ; never be moved by anger , favour , or pity ; never be deceived , never repent , never change his mind. With these principles, Cato entered into public life ; and acted in it , as Cicero says , as if he had lived in the polity of Plato , not in the dregs of Romulus. He made no distinction of times or things ; no allowance for the weakness of the republic , and the power of those who oppressed it : it was his maxim , to combat all power not built upon the laws ; or to defy it at least , if he could not controul it ; he knew no way to his end , but the direct ; and whatever obstructions he met with , resolved still to rush on , and either to surmount them , or perish in the attempt : taking it for baseness and confession of being conquered , to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age therefore of the utmost libertinism , when the public discipline was lost , and the government itself tottering , he struggled with the same zeal against all corruption , and waged a perpetual war with a superior force ; whilst the rigour of his principles tended rather to alienate friends , than reconcile enemies ; and by provoking the power , that he could not subdue , helped to hasten that ruin , which he was striving to avert : so that after a perpetual course of disappointments and repulses , finding himself unable to pursue his old way any farther , instead of taking a new one , he was driven by his philosophy to put an end to his life.

But as the Stoics exalted human nature too high , so the Epicureans depressed it too low ; as those raised it to the heroic , these debased it to the brutal state : they held pleasure to be the chief good of man ; death the extinction of his being ; and placed their happiness consequently in the secure enjoyment

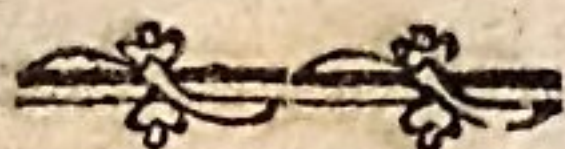


joyment of a pleasurable life ; esteeming virtue on no other account , than as it was a hand-maid to pleasure ; and helped to ensure the possession of it, by preserving health and conciliating friends. Their wise man therefore had no other duty , but to provide for his own ease ; to decline all struggles ; to retire from public affairs ; and to imitate the life of their Gods ; by passing his days in a calm , contemplative , undisturbed repose , in the midst of rural shades and pleasant gardens. This was the scheme that Atticus followed : he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be useful to society ; great parts, learning, judgment, candour, benevolence, generosity, the same love of his country, and the same sentiments in politics with Cicero ; whom he was always advising and urging to act , yet determined never to act himself ; or never at least so far, as to disturb his ease , or endanger his safety. For though he was so strictly united with Cicero, and valued him above all men , yet he managed an interest all the while with the opposite faction , and a friendship even with his mortal enemies , Clodius and Antony ; that he might secure , against all events , the grand point, which he had in view, the peace and tranquillity of his life. Thus two excellent men , by their mistaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philosophy , were made useless in a manner to their country ; each in a different extreme of life ; the one always acting and exposing himself to dangers , without the prospect of doing good ; the other , without attempting to do any , resolving never to act at all.

Cicero chose the middle way between the obstinacy of Cato and the indolence of Atticus ; he preferred always the readiest road to what was right ,
if



if it lay open to him : if not , took the next , that seemed likely to bring him to the same end ; and in politics as in morality , when he could not arrive at the true , contented himself with the probable. He often compares the statesman to the pilot ; whose art consists , in managing every turn of the winds , and applying even the most perverse to the progress of his voyage ; so as by changing his course and enlarging his circuit of sailing , to arrive with safety , though later , at his destined port. He mentions likewise an observation which long experience had confirmed to him , that none of the popular and ambitious , who aspired to extraordinary commands , and to be leaders in the republic , ever chose to obtain their ends from the people , till they had first been repulsed by the senate. This was verified by all their civil dissensions , from the Gracchi down to Cæsar : so that when he saw men of this spirit at the head of the government , who , by the splendor of their lives and actions , had acquired an ascendant over the populace ; it was his constant advice to the senate , to gain them by gentle compliances , and to gratify their thirst of power by voluntary grants of it , as the best way to moderate their ambition , and reclaim them from desperate councils. He declared contention to be no longer prudent , than while it either did service , or at least no hurt ; but when faction was grown too strong to be withstood , that it was time to give over fighting ; and nothing left but to extract some good out of the ill , by mitigating that power by patience , which they could not reduce by force , and conciliating it , if possible , to the interest of the state. This was what he advised , and what he practised : and it will account , in a great measure , for those parts of his conduct , which are the most liable to exception , on the account

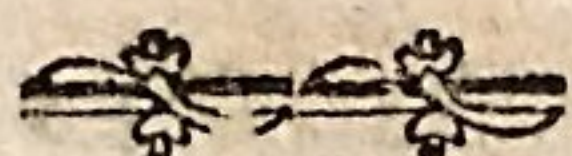


count of that complaisance , which he is supposed to have paid at different times to the several usurpers of illegal power.

The Character of Alfred.*

THE merit of this prince , both in private and public life , may with advantage be set in opposition to that of any monarch or citizen , which the annals of any age or any nation , can present to us. He seems , indeed , to be the complete model of that perfect character . which under the denomination of a sage or wise man , the philosophers have been fond of delineating , rather as a fiction of their imagination , than in hopes of ever seeing it reduced to practice : so happily were all his virtues tempered together ; so justly were they blended , and so powerfully did each prevent the other from exceeding its proper bounds ! He knew how to conciliate the most enterprising spirit with the coolest moderation ; the most obstinate perseverance with the easiest flexibility ; the most severe justice with the greatest lenity ; the greatest vigour in command with the greatest affability of deportment ; the highest capacity and inclination for science with the most shining talents for action. His civil and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration ; excepting only , that the former being more rare among princes , as well as more useful , seem chiefly to challenge our applause. Nature also , as if desirous , that so bright a production of her skill should

* Hume's Hist. 4to. vol. i. p. 63.



should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him all bodily accomplishments, vigour of limbs, dignity of shape and air, and a pleasant, engaging, and open countenance. Fortune alone, by throwing him into that barbarous age, deprived him of historians worthy to transmit his fame to posterity; and we wish to see him delineated in more lively colours, and with more particular strokes, that we may at least perceive some of those small specks and blemishes, from which, as a man, it is impossible he could be entirely exempted.

The Character of Edward III.*

THE English are apt to consider with peculiar fondness, the history of Edward III. and to esteem his reign, as it was one of the longest, the most glorious also, which occurs in the annals of their nation. The ascendant which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and national enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency, and sanctifies every measure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his administration, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity, than she had been blessed with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness: he made them feel his power, without their daring, over even being in-



inclined to murmur at it: his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion; his valour and conduct made them successful in most of their enterprizes; and their unquiet spirits directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed those disturbances, to which they were naturally so much inclined, and which the frame of the government seemed so much to authorize. This was the chief benefit which resulted from Edward's victories and conquests. His foreign wars were, in other respects, neither founded in justice, nor directed to any very salutary purpose. His attempt against the king of Scotland, a minor, and a brother-in-law, and the revival of his grandfather's claim of superiority over that kingdom, were both unreasonable and ungenerous; and he allowed himself to be too soon seduced, by the glaring prospect of French conquests, from the acquisition of a point, which was practicable, and which might really, if attained, have been of lasting utility to his country and his successors. The success which he met with in France, though chiefly owing to his eminent talents, was unexpected; and yet from the very nature of things, not from any unforeseen accident, was found, even during his own life-time, to have procured him no solid advantages. But the glory of a conqueror is so dazzling to the vulgar, the animosity of nations is so extreme, that the fruitless desolation of so fine a part of Europe, as France, is totally disregarded by us, and is never considered as a blemish in the character or conduct of this prince: and indeed, from the unfortunate state of human nature, it will commonly happen that a sovereign of great genius, such as Edward, who usually finds every thing easy in his domestic government, will turn

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himself towards military enterprises, where alone he meets with opposition, and where he has full exercise for his industry and capacity.

The Character of Queen Elizabeth. *

THERE are few personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than queen Elizabeth, and yet there scarce is any, whose reputation has been more certainly determined, by the unanimous consent of posterity. The unusual length of her administration and the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have at last, in spite of political factions, and what is more, of religious animosities, produced an uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, and address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person who ever filled a throne: a conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controuled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess: her heroism was exempt from all temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her enterprize from turbulence and

* Hume's Hist. of the House of Tudor, vol. ii.
p. 714-716.



and a vain ambition : she guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities ; the rivalship of beauty , the desire of admiration , the jealousy of love , and the fallies of anger.

Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrouled ascendant over the people ; and while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues , she also engaged their affection by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances ; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration , the true secret for managing religious factions , she preserved her people , by her superior prudence , from those confusions in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations ; and though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe , the most active , the most enterprising , the least scrupulous , she was able by her vigour to make deep impressions on their state : her own greatness meanwhile remained untouched and unimpaired.

The wise ministers and brave warriors , who flourished during her reign , share the praise of her success ; but instead of lessening the applause due to her , they make great addition to it. They owed, all of them , their advancement to her choice ; they were supported by her constancy ; and with all their ability , they were never able to acquire any undue ascendant over her. In her family , in her court , in her kingdom , she remained equally mistress :
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the force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior : and the combat which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

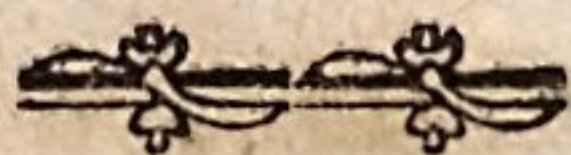
The fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and of bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice, which is more durable because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure, or diminishing the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the consideration of her sex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her qualities and extensive capacity ; but we are also apt to require some more softness of disposition, some greater lenity of temper, some of those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished. But the true method of estimating her merit, is to lay aside all these considerations, and to consider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority, and intrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress ; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.



The Character of Francis I. with some
Reflections on his Rivalship with
Charles V.*

FRANCIS died at Rambouillet, on the last day of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third year of his reign. During twenty-eight years of that time, an avowed rivalship subsisted between him and the emperor, which involved not only their own dominions, but the greater part of Europe in wars, prosecuted with more violent animosity, and drawn out to a greater length than had been known in any former period. Many circumstances contributed to both. Their animosity was founded in opposition of interest, heightened by personal emulation, and exasperated not only by mutual injuries, but by reciprocal insults. At the same time, whatever advantage one seemed to possess towards gaining the ascendant, was wonderfully balanced by some favourable circumstance, peculiar to the other. The Emperor's dominions were of great extent, the French king's lay more compact; Francis governed his kingdom with absolute power; that of Charles was limited, but he supplied the want of authority by address; the troops of the former were more impetuous and enterprising; those of the latter, better disciplined, and more patient of fatigue. The talents and abilities of the two monarchs, were as different as the advantages which they possessed, and contributed no less to prolong the contest between them. Francis took his resolutions suddenly, prosecuted them at first with

* Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii.
p. 132—135.

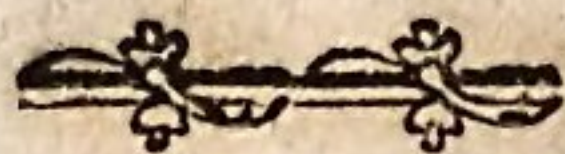


with warmth , and pushed them into execution with a most adventurous courage ; but being destitute of the perseverance necessary to surmount difficulties , he often abandoned his designs , or relaxed the vigour of pursuit from impatience , and sometimes from levity.

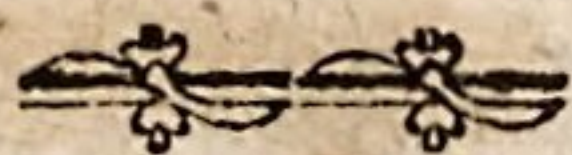
Charles deliberated long , and determined with coolness ; but , having once fixed his plan , he adhered to it with inflexible obstinacy , and neither danger nor discouragement could turn him aside from the execution of it. The success of their enterprises was as different as their characters , and was uniformly influenced by them. Francis , by his impetuous activity , often disconcerted the Emperor's best laid schemes ; Charles , by a more calm , but steady prosecution of his designs , checked the rapidity of his rival's career , and baffled or repulsed his most vigorous efforts. The former , at the opening of a war or of a campaign , broke in upon his enemy with the violence of a torrent , and carried all before him ; the latter , waiting until he saw the force of his rival begin to abate , recovered in the end , not only all that he had lost , but made new acquisitions. Few of the French monarch's attempts towards conquest , whatever promising aspect they might wear at first , were conducted to an happy issue ; many of the Emperor's enterprises , even after they appeared desperate and impracticable , terminated in the most prosperous manner. Francis was dazzled with the splendor of an undertaking ; Charles was allured by the prospect of its turning to his advantage. The degree , however , of their comparative merit and reputation , has not been fixed either by a strict scrutiny into their abilities for government , or by an impartial consideration of

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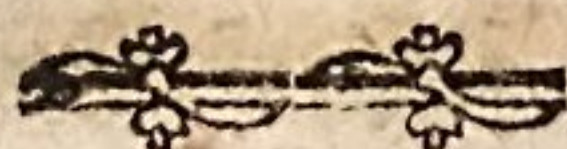


the greatness and success of their undertakings; and Francis is one of those monarchs who occupies a higher rank in the temple of fame, than either his talents or performances entitle him to hold. This pre-eminence he owed to many different circumstances. The superiority which Charles acquired by the victory of Pavia, and which from that period he preserved through the remainder of his reign, was so manifest, that Francis's struggle against his exorbitant and growing dominion was viewed by most of the other powers, not only with the partiality which naturally arises from those who gallantly maintain an unequal contest, but with the favour due to one who was resisting a common enemy, and endeavouring to set bounds to a monarch equally formidable to them all. The characters of princes too, especially among their contemporaries, depend not only upon their talents for government, but upon their qualities as men. Francis, notwithstanding the many errors conspicuous in his foreign policy and domestic administration, was nevertheless humane, beneficent, generous. He possessed dignity without pride; affability free from meanness; and courtesy exempt from deceit. All who had access to him, and no man of merit was ever denied that privilege, respected and loved him. Captivated with his personal qualities, his subjects forgot his defects as a monarch, and admiring him as the most accomplished and amiable gentleman in his dominions, they never murmured at acts of male-administration, which in a prince of less engaging dispositions would have been deemed unpardonable. This admiration, however, must have been temporary only, and would have died away with the courtiers who bestowed it; the illusion arising from his private virtues must have ceased, and posterity would



would have judged of his public conduct with its usual impartiality ; but another circumstance prevented this , and his name hath been transmitted to posterity with increasing reputation. Science and the arts had , at that time , made little progress in France. They were just beginning to advance beyond the limits of Italy , where they had revived , and which had hitherto been their only seat. Francis took them immediately under his protection , and vied with Leo himself , in the zeal and munificence with which he encouraged them. He invited learned men to his court ; he conversed with them familiarly ; he employed them in business ; he raised them to offices of dignity , and honoured them with his confidence. That race of men , not more prone to complain when denied the respect to which they fancy themselves entitled than apt to be pleased when treated with the distinction which they consider as their due , though they could not exceed in gratitude to such a benefactor , strained their invention , and employed all their ingenuity in panegyric.

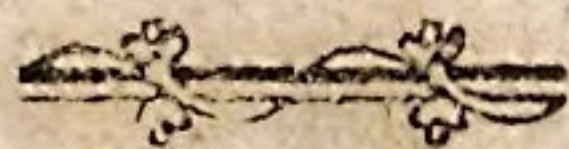
Succeeding authors , warmed with their descriptions of Francis's bounty , adopted their encomiums , and refined upon them. The appellation of father of letters bestowed upon Francis , hath rendered his memory sacred among historians , and they seem to have regarded it as a sort of impiety to uncover his infirmities , or to point out his defects. Thus Francis , notwithstanding his inferior abilities , and want of success , hath more than equalled the fame of Charles. The virtues which he possessed as a man , have entitled him to greater admiration and praise , than have been bestowed upon the extensive genius and fortunate arts of a more capable , but less amiable rival.



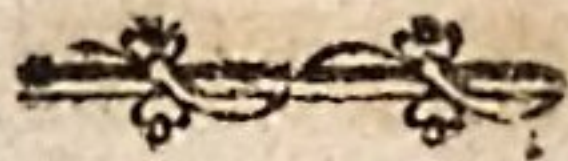
The Character of Charles V. *

AS Charles was the first prince of his age in rank and dignity, the part which he acted, whether we consider the greatness, the variety, or the success of his undertakings, was the most conspicuous. It is from an attentive observation of his conduct, not from the exaggerated praises of the Spanish historians, or the undistinguishing censure of the French, that a just idea of Charles's genius and abilities is to be collected. He possessed qualities so peculiar, as strongly mark his character, and not only distinguish him from the princes who were his contemporaries, but account for that superiority over them which he so long maintained. In forming his schemes, he was, by nature as well as by habit, cautious and considerate. Born with talents, which unfolded themselves slowly, and were late in attaining maturity; he was accustomed to ponder every subject that demanded his consideration with a careful and deliberate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and dwelling upon it with a serious application, undiverted by pleasure, and hardly relaxed by any amusement, he revolved it in silence, in his own breast. He then communicated the matter to his ministers, and after hearing their opinions, took his resolution with a decisive firmness, which seldom follows such slow consultations. In consequence of this, Charles's measures, instead of resembling the desultory and irregular sallies of Henry VIII. or Francis I. had the appearance of a consistent system, in which all
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* Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. 4to. vol. iii.
P. 417—420.



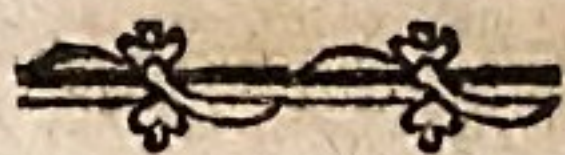
the parts were arranged ; the effects were foreseen, and the accidents were provided for. His promptitude in execution , was no less remarkable than his patience in deliberation. He consulted with phlegm , but he acted with vigour ; and did not discover greater sagacity in his choice of the measures which it was proper to pursue , than fertility of genius in finding out the means for rendering his pursuit of them successful. Though he had naturally so little of the martial turn , that during the most ardent and bustling period of life , he remained in the cabinet inactive ; yet when he chose at length to appear at the head of his armies , his mind was so formed for vigorous exertions in every direction , that he acquired such knowledge in the art of war , and such talents for command , as rendered him equal in reputation and success to the most able generals of the age. But Charles possessed, in the most eminent degree , the science which is of greatest importance to a monarch, that of knowing men , and of adapting their talents to the various departments which he allotted to them. From the death of Chievres to the end of his reign, he employed no general in the field , no minister in the cabinet , no ambassador to a foreign court , no governor of a province, whose abilities were inadequate to the trust which he reposed in them, Tho' destitute of that bewitching affability of manner, which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his person ; he was no stranger to the virtues which secure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals ; he rewarded their services with munificence ; he neither envied their fame , nor discovered any jealousy of their power. Almost all the generals who conducted his armies may be placed on a level with those illustrious



lustrious personages, who have attained the highest eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals are to be ascribed so manifestly to the superior abilities of the commanders whom he set in opposition to them, that this might seem to detract, in some degree, from his own merit, if the talent of discovering and employing such instruments were not the most undoubted proof of his capacity for government.

There were, nevertheless, defects in his political character, which must considerably abate the admiration due to his extraordinary talents. Charles's ambition was insatiable; and though there seems to be no foundation for an opinion prevalent in his own age, that he had formed the chimerical project of establishing an universal monarchy in Europe, it is certain that his desire of being distinguished as a conqueror, involved him in continual wars, which exhausted and oppressed his subjects, and left him little leisure for giving attention to the interior police and improvement of his kingdoms, the great objects of every prince who makes the happiness of his people the end of his government. Charles, at a very early period of life, having added the imperial crown to the kingdoms of Spain, and to the hereditary dominions of the houses of Austria and Burgundy; this opened to him such a vast field of enterprise, and engaged him in schemes so complicated as well as arduous, that feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of these, he had often recourse to low artifices unbecoming his superior talents, and sometimes ventured on such deviations from integrity, as were dishonourable in a great prince. His insidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conspicuous, and was rendered more

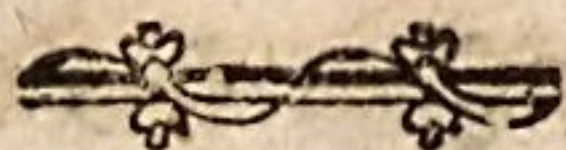
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re odious , by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of his contemporaries , Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference , though occasioned chiefly by the diversity of their tempers , must be ascribed in some degree to such an opposition in the principles of their political conduct , as affords some excuse for this defect in Charles's behaviour, though it cannot serve as a justification of it. Francis and Henry seldom acted but from the impulse of their passions , and rushed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's measures being the result of cool reflection , were disposed into a regular system , and carried on upon a concerted plan. Persons who act in the former manner , naturally pursue the end in view , without assuming any disguise, or displaying much address. Such as hold the latter course , are apt, in forming as well as in executing their designs , to employ such refinements, as always lead to artifice in conduct , and often degenerate into deceit.

The Character of Mr. Pope,
by Lord Chesterfield.

POPE in conversation was below himself; he was seldom easy and natural , and seemed afraid that the man should degrade the poet, which made him always attempt wit and humour , often unsuccessfully, and too often unseasonably. I have been with him a week at a time at his house at Twickenham, where I necessarily saw his mind in its undress, when he was both an agreeable and instructive companion.

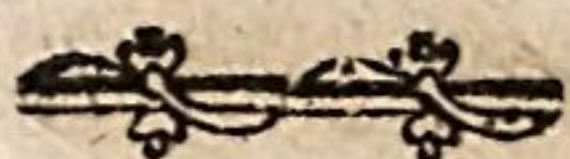


His moral character has been warmly attacked, and but weakly defended ; the natural consequence of his shining turn to satire , of which many felt , and all feared the smart. It must be owned, that he was the most irritable of all the genus irritabile vatum, offended with trifles , and never forgetting or forgiving them ; but in this I really think , that the poet was more in fault than the man. He was as great an instance as any he quotes, of the contrarieties and inconsistencies of human nature ; for , notwithstanding the malignancy of his satires , and some blameable passages of his life, he was charitable to his power , active in doing good offices , and piously attentive to an old bed - ridden mother , who died but a little time before him. His poor , crazy , deformed body was a mere Pandora's box , containing all the physical ills that ever afflicted humanity. This, perhaps , whetted the edge of his satire , and may in some degree excuse it.

I will say nothing of his works ; they speak sufficiently for themselves ; they will live as long as letters and taste shall remain in this country , and be more and more admired , as envy and resentment shall subside. But I will venture this piece of classical blasphemy , which is , that however he may be supposed to be obliged to Horace , Horace is more obliged to him.

The Character of Lord Bolingbroke ,
by Lord Chesterfield.

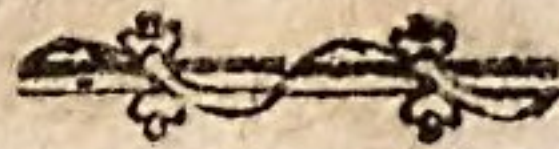
IT is impossible to find lights and shades strong enough to paint the character of lord Bolingbroke ,
who



who was a most mortifying instance of the violence of human passions, and of the improved and exalted human reason. His virtues and his vices, his reason and his passions, did not blend themselves by a gradation of tints, but formed a shining and sudden contrast.

Here the darkest, there the most splendid colours, and both rendered more striking from their proximity. Impetuosity, excess, and almost extravagancy, characterized not only his passions but even his senses. His youth was distinguished by all the tumult and storm of pleasures, in which he licentiously triumphed, disdaining all decorum. His fine imagination was often heated and exhausted with his body, in celebrating and deifying the prostitute of the night; and his convivial joys were pushed to all the extravagancy of frantic bacchanals. These passions were never interrupted but by a stronger ambition. The former impaired both his constitution and his character; but the latter destroyed both his fortune and his reputation.

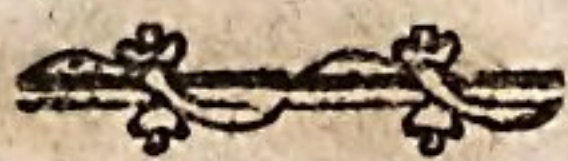
He engaged young, and distinguished himself, in business. His penetration was almost intuition, and he adorned whatever subject he either spoke or wrote upon, by the most splendid eloquence; not a studied or laboured eloquence, but by such a flowing happiness of diction, which (from care perhaps at first) was become so habitual to him, that even his most familiar conversations, if taken down in writing, would have borne the press, without the least correction, either as to method or style. He had noble and generous sentiments, rather than fixed, reflected principles of good-nature and friendship; but they were more violent than lasting,



lasting, and suddenly, and often varied to their opposite extreme, with regard even to the same persons. He received the common attentions of civility as obligations, which he returned with interest; and repented with passion the little inadvertencies of human nature, which he repaid with interest too. Even a difference of opinion upon a philosophical subject would provoke, and prove him no practical philosopher at least.

Notwithstanding the dissipation of his youth, and the tumultuous agitation of his middle age, he had an infinite fund of various and almost universal knowledge, which from the clearest and quickest conception, and the happiest memory that ever man was blest with, he always carried about him. It was his pocket-money, and he never had occasion to draw upon a book for any sum. He excelled more particularly in history, as his historical works plainly prove. The relative, political, and commercial interests of every country in Europe, particularly of his own, were better known to him than perhaps to any man in it; but how steadily he pursued the latter in his public conduct, his enemies of all parties and denominations tell with pleasure.

During his long exile in France, he applied himself to study with his characteristical ardour; and there he formed, and chiefly executed; the plan of his great philosophical work. The common bounds of human knowledge were too narrow for his warm and aspiring imagination, he must go "*extra flammantia mœnia mundi*," and explore the unknown and unknowable regions of metaphysics, which open an unbounded field for the excursions of an ardent imagination, where endless con-
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jectures supply the defect of unattainable knowledge, and to often usurp both its name and its influence.

He had a very handsome person, with a most engaging address in his air and manners; he had all the dignity and good breeding which a man of quality should or can have, and which so few, in this country at least, really have.

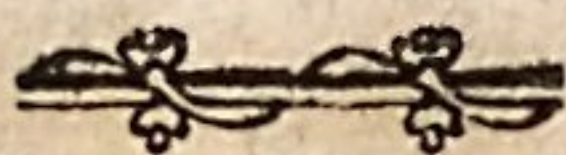
He professed himself a deist, believing in a general Providence, but doubting of, though by no means rejecting (as is commonly supposed) the immortality of the soul, and a future state.

He died of a cruel and shocking distemper, a cancer in his face, which he endured with firmness. A week before he died, I took my last leave of him with grief; and he returned me his last farewell with tenderness, and said, "God, who placed me here, will do what he pleases with me hereafter; and he knows best what to do. May he bless you!"

Upon the whole of this extraordinary character, what can we say, but, alas! poor human nature!

The Character of Sir Robert Walpole, by Lord Chesterfield.

I much question, whether an impartial character of Sir Robert Walpole will or can be transmitted to posterity; for he governed this kingdom so long, that the various passions of mankind mingled, and in a manner incorporated themselves, with every thing



thing that was said or written concerning him. Never was man more flattered, nor more abused; and his long power was probably the chief cause of both. I was much acquainted with him, both in his public and his private life. I mean to do impartial justice to his character; and therefore my picture of him will, perhaps, be more like him than it will be like any of the other pictures drawn of him.

In private life he was good-natured, chearful, social; inelegant in his manners, loose in his morals. He had a coarse, strong wit, which he was too free of for a man in his station, as it is always inconsistent with dignity. He was very able as a minister, but without a certain elevation of mind, necessary for great good or great mischief. Profuse and appetent, his ambition was subservient to his desire of making a great fortune. He had more of the Mazarin than of the Richelieu. He would do mean things for profit, and never thought of doing great ones for glory.

He was both the best parliament-man, and the ablest manager of parliament, that I believe ever lived. An artful, rather than an eloquent speaker; he saw, as by intuition, the disposition of the house, and pressed or receded accordingly. So clear in stating the most intricate matters, especially in the finances, that, whilst he was speaking, the most ignorant thought that they understood what they really did not. Money, not prerogative, was the chief engine of his administration; and he employed it with a success which in a manner disgraced humanity. He was not, it is true, the inventor of that shameful method of governing, which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles II. but
with



with uncommon skill and unbounded profusion, he brought it to that perfection, which at this time dishonours and distresses this country, and which (if not checked, and God knows how it can be now checked) must ruin it.

Besides this powerful engine of government, he had a most extraordinary talent of persuading and working men up to his purpose. A hearty kind of frankness, which sometimes seemed impudence, made people think that he let them into his secrets, whilst the impoliteness of his manners seemed to attest his sincerity. When he found any body proof against pecuniary temptations, which, alas! was but seldom, he had recourse to a still worse art; for he laughed at and ridiculed all notions of public virtue, and the love of one's country, calling them: "The chimerical school-boy flights of classical learning;" declaring himself at the same time, "No saint, no Spartan, no reformer." He would frequently ask young fellows, at their first appearance in the world, while their honest hearts were yet untainted, "Well, are you to be an old Roman? a patriot? you will soon come off of that, and grow wiser." And thus he was more dangerous to the morals than to the liberties of his country, to which I am persuaded he meant no ill in his heart.

He was the easy and profuse dupe of women, and in some instances indecently so. He was excessively open to flattery, even of the grossest kind; and from the coarsest bunglers of that vile profession; which engaged him to pass most of his leisure and jovial hours with people whose blasted characters reflected upon his own. He was loved by many,
but



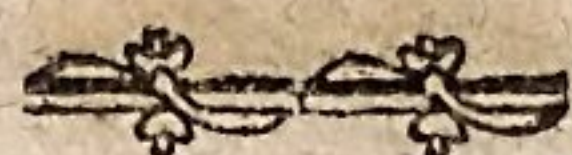
but respected by none; his familiar and illiberal mirth and raillery leaving him no dignity. He was not vindictive, but on the contrary, very placable to those who had injured him the most. His good-humour, good-nature, and beneficence, in the several relations of father, husband, master, and friend, gained him the warmest affections of all within that circle.

His name will not be recorded in history among the "best men," or the "best ministers;" but much less ought it to be ranked among the worst.
Chesterfield.

The Character of the Earl of Scarborough, by Lord Chesterfield.

IN drawing the character of Lord Scarborough, I will be strictly upon my guard against the partiality of that intimate and unreserved friendship, in which we lived for more than twenty years; to which friendship, as well as to the public notoriety of it, I owe much more than my pride will let my gratitude own. If this may be suspected to have biased my judgment, it must, at the same time, be allowed to have informed it; for the most secret movements of his soul were, without disguise, communicated to me only. However, I will rather lower than heighten the colouring; I will mark the shades; and draw a credible rather than an exact likeness.

He had a very good person, rather above the middle size; a handsome face, and when he was
cheer-



cheerful , the most engaging countenance imaginable ; when grave , which he was ofteneft , the most respectable one. He had in the highest degree the air , manners , and address , of a man of quality ; politeness with ease , and dignity without pride.

Bred in camps and courts , it cannot be supposed that he was untainted with the fashionable vices of these warm climates ; but (if I may be allowed the expression) he dignified them , instead of their degrading him into any mean or indecent action. He had a good degree of classical , and a great one of modern knowledge ; with a just , and at the same time , a delicate taste.

In his common expences he was liberal within bounds ; but in his charities and bounties he had none. I have known them put him to some present inconveniencies.

He was a strong , but not an eloquent or florid speaker in parliament. He spoke so unaffectedly the honest dictates of his heart , that truth and virtue , which never want , and seldom wear , ornaments , seemed only to borrow his voice. This gave such an astonishing weight to all he said that he more than once carried an unwilling majority after him. Such is the authority of unsuspected virtue , that it will sometimes shame vice into decency at least.

He was not only offered , but pressed to accept , the post of secretary of state ; but he constantly refused it. I once tried to persuade him to accept it ; but he told me , that both the natural warmth and melancholy of his temper made him unfit for it ; and that moreover he knew very well that , in those ministerial employments , the course of business made

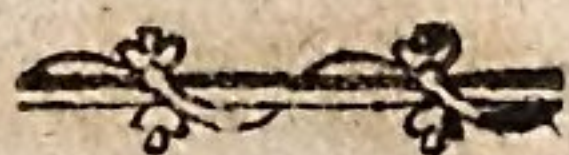


it necessary to do many hard things , and some unjust ones , which could only be authorized by the jesuitical casuistry of the direction of the intention : a doctrine which he said he could not possibly adopt. Whether he was the first that ever made that objection , I cannot affirm ; but I suspect that he will be the last.

He was a true constitutional , and yet practicable patriot ; a sincere lover , and a zealous assertor ; of the natural , the civil , and the religious rights of his country : but he would not quarrel with the crown , for some slight stretches of the prerogative ; nor with the people , for some unwary ebullitions of liberty ; nor with any one , for a difference of opinion in speculative points. He considered the constitution in the aggregate , and only watched that no one part of it should preponderate too much.

His moral character was so pure , that if one may say of that imperfect creature, man , what a celebrated historian says of Scipio , “ nil non laudandum aut dixit , aut fecit , aut sensit ; ” I sincerely think (I had almost said I know) , one might say it with great truth of him , one single instance excepted , which shall be mentioned.

He joined to the noblest and strictest principles of honour and generosity , the tenderest sentiments of benevolence and compassion ; and as he was naturally warm , he could not even hear of an injustice or a baseness , without a sudden indignation ; nor of the misfortunes or miseries of a fellow creature without melting into softness , and endeavouring to relieve



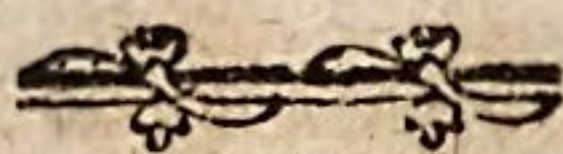
lieve them. This part of his character was so universally known, that our best and most satirical English poet says,

When I confess, there is who feels for fame,
And melts to goodness, need I Scarborough
name?

He had not the least pride of birth and rank, that common narrow notion of little minds, that wretched mistaken succedaneum of merit; but he was jealous to anxiety of his character, as all men are who deserve a good one. And such was his diffidence upon that subject, that he never could be persuaded that mankind really thought of him as they did; for surely never man had a higher reputation, and never man enjoyed a more universal esteem. Even knaves respected him; and fools thought they loved him. If he had any enemies (for I protest I never knew one), they could only be such as were weary of always hearing of Aristides the Just.

He was too subject to sudden gusts of passion, but they never hurried him into any illiberal or indecent expression or action; so invincibly habitual to him were good-nature and good-manners. But, if ever any word happened to fall from him in warmth, which upon subsequent reflection he himself thought too strong, he was never easy till he had made more than a sufficient atonement for it.

He had a most unfortunate, I will call it a most fatal kind of melancholy in his nature, which often made him both absent and silent in company, but never morose or sour. At other times he was a chearful and agreeable companion; but, conscious that he was not always so, he avoided company too
p 2 much,



much , and was too often alone , giving way to a train of gloomy reflections.

His constitution , which was never robust , broke rapidly at the latter end of his life. He had two severe strokes of apoplexy or palsy , which considerably affected his body and his mind.

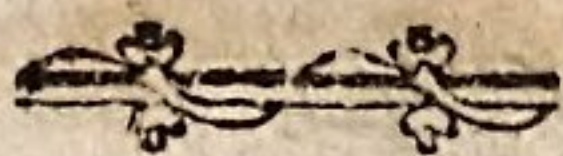
I desire that this may not be looked upon as a full and finished character , writ for the sake of writing it ; but as my solemn deposit of the truth to the best of my knowledge. I owed this small deposit of justice , such as it is , to the memory of the best man I ever knew , and of the dearest friend I ever had.

The Character of Mr. Henry Fox , (the
Father of the famous Mr. Charles Fox,)
by Lord Chesterfield.

MR. HENRY FOX was a younger brother of the lowest extraction. His father, Sir Stephen Fox, made a considerable fortune , some how or other , and left him a fair younger brother's portion , which he soon spent in the common vices of youth , gaming included : this obliged him to travel for some time.

When he returned , though by education a Jacobite , he attached himself to Sir Robert Walpole, and was one of his ablest elevés. He had no fixed principles either of religion or morality , and was too unwary in ridiculing and exposing them.

He



He had very great abilities and indefatigable industry in business ; great skill in managing , that is , in corrupting , the house of commons , and a wonderful dexterity in attaching individuals to himself. He promoted , encouraged , and practised their vices ; he gratified their avarice , or supplied their profusion. He wisely and punctually performed whatever he promised , and most liberally rewarded their attachment and dependance. By these , and all other means that can be imagined , he made himself many personal friends and political dependants.

He was a most disagreeable speaker in parliament , inelegant in his language , hesitating and ungraceful in his elocution , but skilful in discerning the temper of the house , and in knowing when and how to press , or to yield.

A constant good - humour and seeming frankness made him a welcome companion in social life , and in all domestic relations he was good-natured. As he advanced in life , his ambition became subservient to his avarice. His early profusion and dissipation had made him feel the many inconveniences of want , and , as it often happens , carried him to the contrary and worse extreme of corruption and rapine. "Rem , quocunque modo rem , " became his maxim , which he observed (I will not say religiously and scrupulously , but) invariably and shamefully.

He had not the least notion of , or regard for , the public good or the constitution , but despised those cares as the objects of narrow minds , or the



pretences of interested ones : and he lived, as Brutus died, calling virtue only a name.

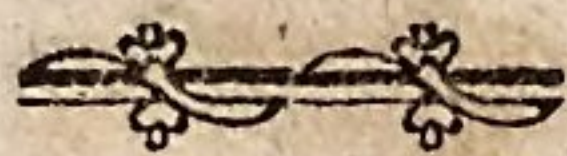
The Character of Lord Hardwicke,
by Lord Chesterfield.

LORD HARDWICKE was, perhaps, the greatest magistrate that this country ever had. He presided in the court of chancery above twenty years, and in all that time none of his decrees were reversed, nor the justness of them ever questioned. Though avarice was his ruling passion, he was never in the least suspected of any kind of corruption : a rare and meritorious instance of virtue and self-denial, under the influence of such a craving, insatiable, and increasing passion.

He had great and clear parts ; understood, loved, and cultivated the belles lettres. He was an agreeable, eloquent speaker in parliament, but not without some little tincture of the pleader.

Men are apt to mistake, or at least to seem to mistake, their own talents, in hopes, perhaps, of misleading others to allow them that which they are conscious they do not possess. Thus Lord Hardwicke valued himself more upon being a great minister of state, which he certainly was not, than upon being a great magistrate, which he certainly was.

All his notions were clear, but none of them great. Good order and domestic details were his proper department. The great and shining parts of govern-



government, though not above his parts to conceive, were above his timidity to undertake.

By great and lucrative employments, during the course of thirty years, and by still greater parsimony, he acquired an immense fortune, and established his numerous family in advantageous posts and profitable alliances.

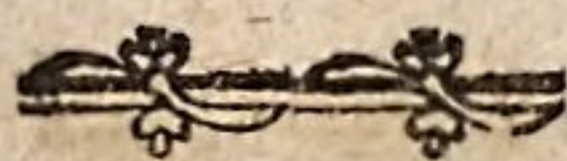
Though he had been solicitor and attorney-general, he was by no means what is called a prerogative-lawyer. He loved the constitution, and maintained the just prerogative of the crown, but without stretching it to the oppression of the people.

He was naturally humane, moderate, and decent; and when, by his former employments, he was obliged to prosecute state-criminals, he discharged that duty in a very different manner from most of his predecessors, who were too justly called the "blood-hounds of the crown."

He was a chearful and instructive companion, humane in his nature, decent in his manners, unstained with any vice (avarice excepted), a very great magistrate, but by no means a great minister.

The Character of Mr. Pitt, by Lord Chesterfield.

MR. PITT owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom singly to his own abilities: in him they supplied the want of birth and fortune, which latter in others too often



supply the want of the former. He was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune only an annuity of one hundred pounds a year.

The army was his original destination, and a cornetcy of horse his first and only commission in it. Thus, unassisted by favour or fortune, he had no powerful protector to introduce him into business, and (if I may use that expression) to do the honours of his parts; but their own strength was fully sufficient.

His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbade him the idle dissipations of youth; for so early as at the age of sixteen, he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leisure which that tedious and painful distemper either procured or allowed him, in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge. Thus by the unaccountable relation of causes and effects, what seemed the greatest misfortune of his life was, perhaps, the principal cause of its splendor.

His private life was stained by no vices, nor sullied by any meannesses. All his sentiments were liberal and elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great abilities, and crowned by great success, make what the world calls "a great man." He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and over-bearing; qualities which too often accompany, but always clog great ones.

He had manners and address; but one might discern through them too great a consciousness of his own superior talents. He was a most agreeable and lively



lively companion in social life; and had such a versatility of wit, that he could adapt it to all sorts of conversation. He had also a most happy turn to poetry, but he seldom indulged, and seldom avowed it.

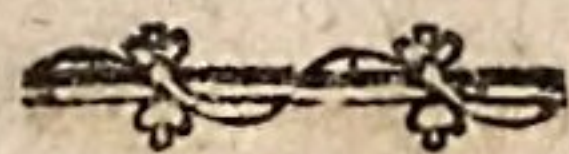
He came young into parliament, and upon that great theatre soon equalled the oldest and the ablest actors. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative as well as in the declamatory way: but his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and stern dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him*; their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over theirs.

In that assembly, where the public good is so much talked of, and private interest singly pursued, he set out with acting the patriot, and performed that part so nobly, that he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather only unsuspected, champion.

The weight of his popularity, and his universally-acknowledged abilities, obtruded him upon King George II. to whom he was personally obnoxious. He was made secretary of state: in this difficult and delicate situation, which one would have thought must have reduced either the patriot or the minister to a decisive option, he managed with such ability, that while he served the king more effectually,

p 5

* Hume Campbell, and Lord Chief Justice Mansfield.



ly, in his most unwarrantable electoral views, than any former minister, however willing, had dared to do, he still preserved all his credit and popularity with the public; whom he assured and convinced, that the protection and defence of Hanover, with an army of seventy-five thousand men in British pay, was the only possible method of securing our possessions or acquisitions in North-America. So much easier is it to deceive than to undeceive mankind.

His own disinterestedness, and even contempt of money, smoothed his way to power, and prevented or silenced a great share of that envy which commonly attends it. Most men think that they have an equal natural right to riches, and equal abilities to make the proper use of them; but not very many of them have the impudence to think themselves qualified for power.

Upon the whole, he will make a great and shining figure in the annals of this country, notwithstanding the blot which his acceptance of three thousand pounds per annum pension for three lives, on his voluntary resignation of the seals in the first year of the present King, must make in his character, especially as to the disinterested part of it. However, it must be acknowledged, that he had those qualities which none but a great man can have, with a mixture of those failings which are the common lot of wretched and imperfect human nature.





VI.

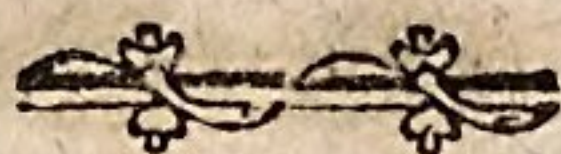
Historical Fragments.

I.

Of the famous Corsairs, Horuc Barbarossa,
and his Brother Hayradin.*

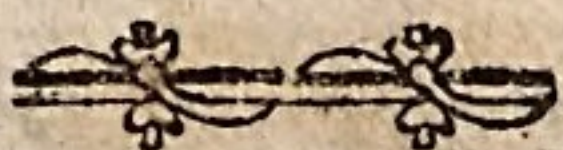
ABOUT the beginning of the sixteenth century, a sudden revolution happened, which by rendering the states of Barbary formidable to the Europeans, has made their history worthy of more attention. This revolution was brought about by persons born in a rank of life, which entitled them to act no such illustrious part. Horuc and Hayradin, the sons of a potter in the isle of Lesbos, prompted by a restless and enterprising spirit, forsook their father's trade, ran to sea, and joined a crew of pirates. They soon distinguished themselves by their valour and activity; and becoming masters of a small brigantine, carried on their infamous trade with such conduct and success, that they assembled a fleet of twelve galleys, besides many vessels of smaller force. Of this fleet Horuc, the elder brother, called Barbarossa from the red colour of his beard, was admiral, and Hayradin second in command, but with almost equal authority. They called themselves the friends of the Sea, and the enemies of all who sail upon it; and their names soon became terrible from the straits of the Dardanelles to those of Gibraltar. Together with
their

* Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Char. V. 4to, vol. ii.
p. 364 — 375.



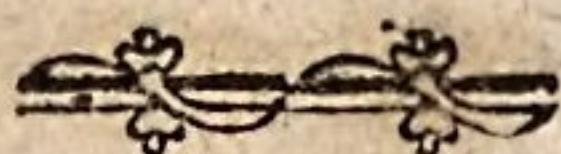
their fame and power, their ambitious views opened and enlarged, and while acting as Corsairs, they adopted the ideas, and acquired the talents of conquerors. They often carried the prizes which they took on the coasts of Spain and Italy into the ports of Barbary; and enriching the inhabitants by the sale of their booty, and the thoughtless prodigality of their crews, were welcome guests in every place at which they touched. The convenient situation of these harbours, lying so near the greatest commercial states at that time in Christendom, made the brothers wish for an establishment in that country. An opportunity of accomplishing this, quickly presented itself, which they did not suffer to pass unimproved. Eutemi, king of Algiers, having attempted several times, without success, to take a fort which the Spanish governors of Oran had built not far from his capital, was so ill advised as to apply for aid to Barbarossa, whose valour the Africans considered as irresistible. The active Corsair gladly accepted of the invitation; and leaving his brother Hayradin with the fleet, marched at the head of five thousand men to Algiers, where he was received as their deliverer. Such a force gave him the command of the town; and observing that the Moors neither suspected him of any bad intention, nor were capable with their light-armed troops, of opposing his disciplined veterans, he secretly murdered the monarch whom he had come to assist, and caused himself to be proclaimed king of Algiers in his stead. The authority which he had thus boldly usurped, he endeavoured to establish, by arts suited to the genius of the people whom he had to govern; by liberality without bounds to those who favoured his promotion, and by cruelty no less unbounded towards all whom he had any reason to distrust.

Not



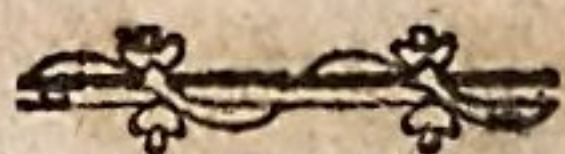
Not satisfied with the throne which he had acquired, he attacked the neighbouring king of Tremecen; and having vanquished him in battle, added his dominions to those of Algiers. At the same time, he continued to infest the coasts of Spain and Italy with fleets, which resembled the armaments of a great monarch, rather than the light squadrons of a Corsair. The devastations which these committed, obliged Charles, about the beginning of his reign, to furnish the Marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, with troops sufficient to attack him. That officer, assisted by the dethroned king of Tremecen, executed the commission with such spirit, that Barbarossa's troops being beat in several encounters, he himself was shut up in Tremecen; after defending it to the last extremity, he was overtaken in attempting to make his escape, and slain while he fought with an obstinate valour, worthy of his former fame and exploits.

His brother Hayradin, known likewise by the name of Barbarossa, assumed the sceptre of Algiers with the same ambition and abilities, but with better fortune. His reign being undisturbed by the arms of the Spaniards, which had full occupation in the wars among the European powers, he regulated with admirable prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his naval operations with great vigour, and extended his conquests on the continent of Africa. But perceiving, that the Moors and Arabs submitted to his government with the utmost impatience; and being afraid, that his continual depredations would, one day, draw upon him the arms of the Christians, he put his dominions under the protection of the Grand Signor, and received from him a body of Turkish soldiers, sufficient



ficient for his security against his domestic, as well as his foreign enemies. At last, the fame of his exploits daily increasing, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkish fleet, as the only person whose valour and skill in naval affairs entitled him to command against Andrew Doria, the greatest sea-officer of that age. Proud of this distinction, Barbarossa repaired to Constantinople, and with a wonderful versatility of mind, mingling the arts of a courtier with the boldness of a Corsair, gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and his Vizier. To them he communicated a scheme that he had formed of making himself master of Tunis, the most flourishing kingdom at that time on the coast of Africa, which being approved of by them, he obtained whatever he demanded for carrying it into execution.

His hopes of success in this undertaking, were founded on the intestine divisions in the kingdom of Tunis. Mahmed, the last king of that country, having thirty-four sons by different wives, named Muley Hascen, one of the youngest among them, his successor. That weak prince, who owed this preference not to his own merit, but to the ascendant which his mother had acquired over an old dotting monarch, first poisoned his father, in order to prevent him from altering his destination; and then, with the barbarous policy which prevails wherever polygamy is permitted, and the right of succession is not precisely fixed, he put to death all his brothers whom he could get into his power. Alraichid, one of the eldest, was so fortunate as to escape his rage; and finding a retreat among the wandering Arabs, made several attempts, by the assistance of some of their chiefs, to recover the throne, which of right belonged



belonged to him. But these proving unsuccessful, and the Arabs, from their natural levity, being ready to deliver him up to his merciless brother, he fled to Algiers, the only place of refuge remaining, and implored the protection of Barbarossa; who, discerning at once, all the advantages that might be gained by supporting his title, received him with every possible demonstration of friendship and respect. Being ready, at that time, to set sail for Constantinople, he easily persuaded Alraschid, whose eagerness to obtain a crown disposed him to believe or undertake any thing, to accompany him thither; promising him effectual assistance from Solyman, whom he represented to be the most generous, as well as the most powerful monarch in the world. But no sooner were they arrived at Constantinople, than the false Corsair, regardless of all his promises to him, opened to the Sultan a plan for conquering Tunis, and annexing it to the Turkish empire, by making use of the name of this exiled prince, and by means of the party ready to declare in his favour. Solyman approved, with too much facility, of this perfidious proposal, extremely suitable to the character of its author, but altogether unworthy of a great prince. A powerful fleet and numerous army were soon assembled; at the sight of which, the credulous Alraschid flattered himself, that he would soon enter his capital in triumph.

But just as this unhappy prince was going to embark, he was arrested by order of the Sultan, shut up in the Seraglio, and was never heard of more. Barbarossa sailed with a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels towards Africa. After ravaging the coasts of Italy, and spreading terror through every part of that country, he appeared before Tunis; and lan-



landing his men, gave out that he came to assert the right of Alraschid, whom he pretended to have left sick aboard the admiral galley. The fort of Goletta, which commands the bay, soon fell into his hands, partly by his own address, partly by the treachery of its commander; and the inhabitants of Tunis, weary of Muley-Hascen's government, took arms, and declared for Alraschid with such zeal and unanimity, as obliged the former to fly so precipitately, that he left all his treasures behind him. The gates were immediately set open to Barbarossa, as the restorer of their lawful sovereign: But when Alraschid himself did not appear, and when instead of his name, that of Solyman alone was heard, among the acclamations of the Turkish soldiers marching into the town, the people of Tunis began to suspect the Corsair's treachery; and their suspicions being soon converted into certainty, they ran to arms with the utmost fury, and surrounded the citadel, into which Barbarossa had led his troops. But having foreseen such a revolution, he was not unprepared for it; he immediately turned against them the artillery on the ramparts, and by one brisk discharge of it, and of his small arms, he dispersed the numerous, but undirected assailants, and forced them to acknowledge Solyman as their sovereign, and to submit to himself as his viceroy.

His first care was to put the kingdom, of which he had thus got possession, in a proper posture of defence. He strengthened the citadel which commands the town; and fortifying the Goletta in a regular manner, at vast expence, made it the principal station for his fleet, and his great arsenal both for military and naval stores. Being now possessed of such extensive territories, he carried on his de-
pre-

predations against the Christian states to a greater extent, and with more destructive violence than ever. Daily complaints of the outrages committed by his cruizers, were brought to the Emperor by his subjects, both in Spain and Italy. All Christendom seemed to expect from him, as its greatest and most fortunate prince, that he would put an end to this new and odious species of oppression. At the same time, Muley-Hascen, the exiled king of Tunis, finding none of the Mahometan princes in Africa willing or able to assist him in recovering his throne, applied to Charles as the only person who could assert his rights in opposition to such a formidable usurper. The Emperor, equally desirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbarossa; of appearing as the protector of an infortunate prince; and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age, to every expedition against the Mahometans, readily concluded a treaty with Muley-Hascen, and began to prepare for invading Tunis. Having made trial of his own abilities for war, in a late campaign in Hungary, he was now become so fond of the military character, that he determined to command on this occasion in person. The united strength of his dominions was called out upon an enterprize in which the Emperor was about to hazard his glory, and which drew the attention of all Europe. A Flemish fleet carried from the low-country a body of German infantry; the gallies of Naples and Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards, which had distinguished themselves by so many victories over the French; the Emperor himself embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spanish nobility, and was joined by a considerable squadron from Portugal under the command of the Infant Don Lewis, the Empress's

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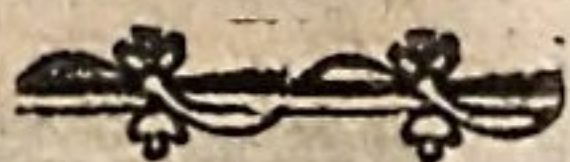
brother;



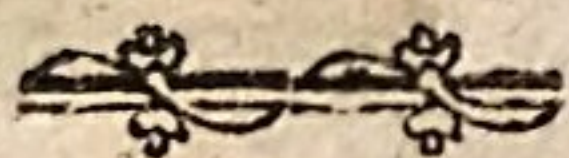
brother ; Andrew Doria conducted his own gallies, the best appointed at that time in Europe, and commanded by the most skilful officers : The Pope furnished all the assistance in his power, towards such a pious enterprise ; and the order of Malta, the perpetual enemies of the infidels, equipped a small squadron, but formidable by the valour of the knights who served on board it. The port of Cagliari in Sardinia, was the general place of rendezvous. Doria was appointed high admiral of the fleet ; the command in Chief of the forces was given to the Marquis di Guaſto.

On the ſixteenth of July, 1555, the fleet, conſiſting of near five hundred veſſels, having on board above thirty thouſand regular troops, ſet ſail from Cagliari ; and after a prosperous navigation, landed within ſight of Tunis. Barbaroſſa, having early intelligence of the Emperor's immense armament, and ſuſpecting its deſtination, prepared with equal prudence and vigour for the defence of his new conqueſt. He called in all his Corſairs from their different ſtations ; he drew from Algiers what forces could be ſpared ; he diſpatched meſſengers to all the African princes, Moors as well as Arabs, and by repreſenting Muley - Haſcen as an infamous apoſtate, prompted by ambition and revenge, not only to become the vaſſal of a Chriſtian prince, but to conſpire with him to extirpate the Mahometan faith, he inflamed thoſe ignorant and bigoted chiefs to ſuch a degree, that they took arms as in a common cauſe. Twenty thouſand horſe, together with a vaſt body of foot, ſoon aſſembled at Tunis ; and Barbaroſſa, by a proper diſtribution of preſents among them from time to time, kept the ardour which had brought them together from ſubſiding.

But

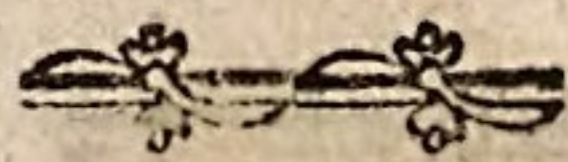


But as he was too well acquainted with the enemy whom he had to oppose , to think that these light troops would resist the heavy armed cavalry and veteran infantry which composed the imperial army ; his chief confidence was in the strength of the Goletta , and in his body of Turkish soldiers , who were armed and disciplined after the European fashion. Six thousand of these , under the command of Sinan , a renegado Jew , the bravest and most experienced of all his Corsairs , he threw into that fort , which the Emperor immediately invested. As Charles had the command of the sea , his camp was so plentifully supplied not only with the necessaries , but with all the luxuries of life , that Muley - Hascen , who had not been accustomed to see war carried on with such order and magnificence , was filled with admiration of the Emperor's power. His troops , animated by his presence , and considering it as meritorious to shed their blood in such a pious cause , contended with each other for the posts of honour and danger. Three separate attacks were concerted , and the Germans , Spaniards , and Italians , having one of these committed to each of them , pushed them forward with the eager courage which national emulation inspires. Sinan displayed a resolution and skill becoming the confidence which his master had put in him ; the garrison performed the hard service on which they were ordered with great fortitude. But though he interrupted the besiegers by frequent sallies ; though the Moors and Arabs alarmed the camp with their continual incursions ; the breaches soon became so considerable towards the land , while the fleet battered the fortifications which it could approach , with no less fury and success , that an assault being given on all sides at once , the place was taken by storm ; Sinan , with the



remains of his garrison, retiring, after an obstinate resistance, over a shallow part of the bay towards the city. By the reduction of the Goletta, the Emperor became master of Barbarossa's fleet, consisting of eighty-seven galleys and galliots, together with his arsenal, and three hundred cannon, mostly brass, which were planted on the ramparts; a prodigious number in that age, and a remarkable proof of the strength of the fort, as well as of the greatness of the Corsair's power. The Emperor marched into the Goletta thro' the breach, and turning to Muley-Hascen who attended him, "Here, says he, is a
" gate open to you, by which you shall return to
" take possession of your dominions."

Barbarossa, though he felt the full weight of the blow which he had received, did not, however, lose courage, or abandon the defence of Tunis. But as the walls were of great extent, and extremely weak; as he could not depend on the fidelity of the inhabitants, nor hope that the Moors and Arabs would sustain the hardships of a siege, he boldly determined to advance with his army, which amounted to fifty thousand men, towards the Imperial camp, and to decide the fate of his kingdom by the issue of a battle. This resolution he communicated to his principal officers; and representing to them the fatal consequences which might follow, if ten thousand Christian slaves, whom he had shut up in the citadel, should attempt to mutiny during the absence of the army, he proposed, as a necessary precaution for the public security, to massacre them without mercy, before he began his march. They all approved warmly of his intention to fight; but inured, as they were in their piratical depredations, to scenes of bloodshed and cruelty, the barbarity of his proposal concerning



cerning the slaves filled them with horror; and Barbarossa, rather from the dread of irritating them, than swayed by motives of humanity, consented to spare the lives of the slaves.

By this time the Emperor had begun to advance towards Tunis: and though his troops suffered inconceivable hardships in their march over burning sands, destitute of water, and exposed to the intolerable heat of the sun, they soon came up with the enemy. The Moors and Arabs, emboldened by their vast superiority in number, immediately rushed on to the attack with loud shouts: but their undisciplined courage did not stand one moment the shock of regular battalions; and though Barbarossa, with admirable presence of mind, and by exposing his own person to the greatest dangers, endeavoured to rally them, the rout became so general, that he himself was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. There he found every thing in the utmost confusion; some of the inhabitants flying with their families and effects; others ready to set open their gates to the conqueror; the Turkish soldiers preparing to retreat; and the citadel, which in such circumstances, might have afforded him some refuge, already in the possession of the Christian captives. These unhappy men, rendered desperate by their situation, had laid hold on the opportunity which Barbarossa dreaded. As soon as his army was at some distance from the town, they gained two of their keepers, by whose assistance, knocking off their fetters, and bursting open their prisons, they overpowered the Turkish garrison, and turned the artillery of the fort against their former masters. Barbarossa, disappointed and enraged, exclaiming sometimes against the false compas-

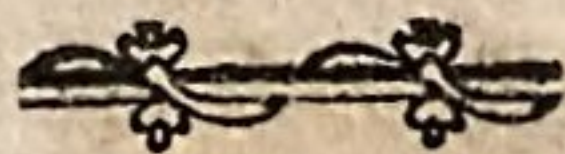
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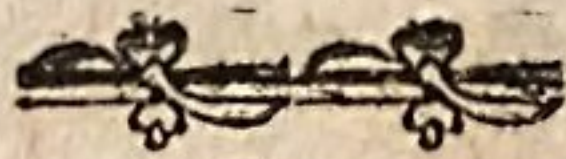
sion of his officers, and sometimes condemning his own imprudent compliance with their opinion, fled precipitately to Bona.

Mean while Charles, satisfied with the easy and almost bloodless victory which he had gained, and advancing slowly, with the precaution necessary in an enemy's country, did not yet know the whole extent of his own good fortune. But at last a messenger dispatched by the slaves acquainted him with the success of their noble effort for the recovery of their liberty; and at the same time deputies arrived from the town, in order to present him the keys of their gates, and to implore his protection from military violence. While he was deliberating concerning the proper measures for this purpose, the soldiers fearing that they would be deprived of the booty which they expected, broke suddenly and without orders into the town, and began to kill and plunder without distinction. It was then too late to restrain their cruelty, their avarice, or licentiousness. All the outrages of which soldiers are capable in the fury of a storm, all the excesses of which men can be guilty when their passions are heightened by the contempt and hatred which difference in manners and religion inspire, were committed. Above thirty thousand of the innocent inhabitants perished on that unhappy day, and ten thousand were carried away as slaves. Muley-Hascen took possession of a throne surrounded with carnage, abhorred by his subjects on whom he had brought such calamities, and pitied even by those whose rashness had been the occasion of them. The Emperor lamented the fatal accident which had stained the lustre of his victory; and amidst such a scene of horror there was but one spectacle that afforded him any satisfaction. Ten thousand Christian slaves,



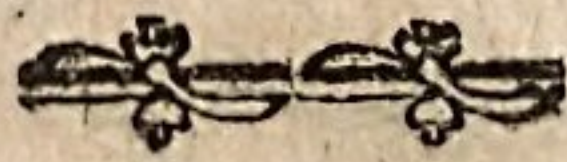
slaves, among whom were several persons of distinction, met him as he entered the town; and falling on their knees, thanked and blessed him as their deliverer.

At the same time that Charles accomplished his promise to the Moorish king of re-establishing him in his dominions, he did not neglect what was necessary for bridling the power of the African Corsairs, for the security of his own subjects, and for the interest of the Spanish crown: in order to gain these ends, he concluded a treaty with Muley Hascen on the following conditions: That he should hold the kingdom of Tunis in fee of the crown of Spain, and do homage to the Emperor as his liege lord; that all the Christian slaves now within his dominions, of whatever nation, should be set at liberty without ransom; that no subject of the Emperor's should for the future be detained in servitude; that no Turkish Corsair should be admitted into the ports of his dominions; that free trade, together with the public exercise of the Christian religion, should be allowed to all the Emperor's subjects; that the Emperor should not only retain the Goletta, but all the other sea-ports of the kingdom which were fortified should be put into his hands; that Muley-Hascen should pay annually twelve thousand crowns for the subsistence of the Spanish garrison in the Goletta; that he should enter into no alliance with any of the Emperor's enemies, and should present to him every year, as an acknowledgment of his vassalage, six Moorish horses, and as many hawks. Having thus settled the affairs of Africa; chastised the insolence of the Corsairs; secured a safe retreat for the ships of his subjects, and a proper station for his own fleet, on that coast from which he was most invested by piratical depredation; Charles



embarked again for Europe, the tempestuous weather, and sickness among his troops, not permitting him to pursue Barbarossa.

By this expedition, the merit of which seems to have been estimated in that age, rather by the apparent generosity of the undertaking, the magnificence wherewith it was conducted, and the success which crowned it, than by the importance of the consequences that attended it, the Emperor attained a greater height of glory than at any other period of his reign. Twenty thousand slaves whom he freed from bondage, either by his arms, or by his treaty with Muley - Hascen, each of whom he cloathed and furnished with the means of returning to their respective countries, spread all over Europe the fame of their benefactor's munificence, extolling his power and abilities with the exaggeration flowing from gratitude and admiration. In comparison with him, the other monarchs of Europe made an inconsiderable figure; he, as the chief prince in Christendom, appeared to be concerned for the honour of the Christian name, for the public security and welfare, while they were attentive only to their private and particular interests.



H.

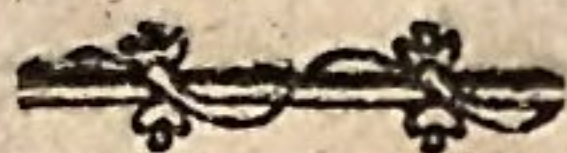
The Revolt of Andrew Doria from the French;
and the Re - establishment of Liberty
in Genoa.*

SEVERAL unexpected events retarded and discouraged the progress of the French in the siege of Naples ; but the revolt of Andrew Doria proved a fatal blow to all their measures. That gallant officer, the citizen of a republic , and trained up from his infancy in the sea - service , retained the spirit of independence natural to the former , and the plain liberal manners peculiar to the latter. A perfect stranger to the arts of submission or flattery necessary in courts , and conscious at the same time of his own merit and importance , he always offered his advice with freedom , and often preferred his complaints and remonstrances with boldness. The French ministers , unaccustomed to such liberties , determined to ruin a man who treated them with so little deference ; and though Francis himself had a just sense of Doria's services as well as an high esteem for his character , the courtiers , by continually representing him as a man haughty, intractable, and more solicitous to aggrandize himself , than to promote the interest of France , gradually undermined the foundations of his credit , and filled the king's mind with suspicion and distrust. From thence proceeded several affronts and indignities put upon Doria. His appointments were not regularly paid ; his advice even in naval affairs was often slighted ; an

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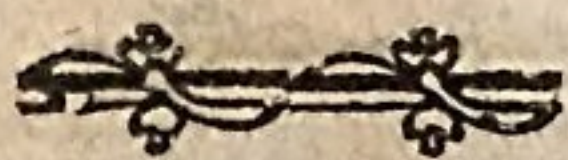
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* Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V- 4to. vol. ii.
p. 307—312.



attempt was made to seize the prisoners taken by his nephew in the sea - fight of Naples ; all which he bore with abundance of ill humour. But an injury offered to his country , transported him beyond all bounds of patience. The French began to fortify Savona , to clear its harbour , and removing thither some branches of trade carried on at Genoa , plainly shewed that they intended to render that town , long the object of jealousy and hatred to the Genoese , their rival in wealth and commerce. Doria , animated with a patriotic zeal for the honour of his country , remonstrated against this in the highest tone , not without threats , if the measure were not instantly abandoned. This bold action , aggravated by the malice of the courtiers , and placed in the most odious light , irritated Francis to such a degree , that he commanded Barbesieux , whom he appointed admiral of the Levant , to sail directly to Genoa with the French fleet , to arrest Doria , and to seize his gallies. This rash order , of which the most profound secrecy alone could have secured the execution , was concealed with so little care , that Doria got timely intelligence of it , and retired with all his gallies to a place of safety. Gualto * , his prisoner , who had long observed and fomented his growing discontent , and had often allured him by magnificent promises to enter into the Emperor's service , laid hold on this favourable opportunity. While his indignation and resentment were at their height , he prevailed on him to dispatch one of his officers to the Imperial court with his overtures and de-

* The Marquis del Gualto , an officer of rank in the Spanish service , had been taken prisoner by Doria in a sea - engagement.



demands. The negociation was not long; Charles, fully sensible of the importance of such an acquisition, granted him whatever terms he required. Doria sent back his commission, together with the collar of St. Michael, to Francis, and hoisting the Imperial colours, sailed with all his gallies towards Naples, not to block up the harbour of that unhappy city, as he had been formerly engaged, but to bring them protection and deliverance.

His arrival opened the communication with the sea, and restored plenty in Naples, which was now reduced to the last extremity; and the French having lost their superiority at sea, were soon reduced to great straits for want of provisions. The prince of Orange, who succeeded the viceroy in the command of the Imperial army, shewed himself by his prudent conduct worthy of that honour which his good fortune and the death of his generals had twice acquired him. Beloved by his troops, who, remembering the prosperity they had enjoyed under his command, served him with the utmost alacrity, he let slip no opportunity of harassing the enemy, and by continual alarms and sallies, fatigued and weakened them. As an addition to all these misfortunes, the diseases common in that country during the sultry months, began to break out among the French troops. The prisoners communicated to them the pestilence which the Imperial army had brought to Naples from Rome, and it raged with such violence, that few, either officers or soldiers, escaped the infection. Of the whole army, not four thousand men, a number scarce sufficient to defend the camp, were capable of doing duty; and being now besieged in their turn, they suffered all the miseries from which the Imperialists were



were delivered. Lautrec*, after struggling long with so many disappointments and calamities, which preyed on his mind, at the same time that the pestilence wasted his body, died, lamenting the negligence of his sovereign, and the infidelity of his allies, to which so many brave men had fallen victims. By his death, and the indisposition of the other generals, the command devolved on the marquis de Saluces, an officer altogether unequal to such a trust. He with troops no less dispirited than reduced, retreated in disorder to Averfa; which town being invested by the prince of Orange, Saluces was under the necessity of consenting, that he himself should remain a prisoner of war, that his troops should lay down their arms and colours, give up their baggage, and march under a guard to the frontiers of France. By this ignominious capitulation, the wretched remains of the French army were saved; and the Emperor, by his own perseverance and the good conduct of his generals, acquired once more the superiority in Italy.

The loss of Genoa followed immediately upon the ruin of the army in Naples. To deliver his country from the dominion of foreigners, was Doria's highest ambition, and had been his principal inducement to quit the service of France, and enter into that of the Emperor. A most favourable opportunity for executing this honourable enterprize now presented itself. The city of Genoa, afflicted by the pestilence, was almost deserted by its inhabitants; the French garrison being neither regularly

* The commander of the French troops.

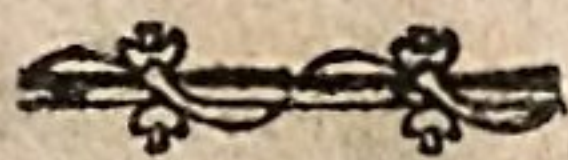


ly paid nor recruited, was reduced to an inconsiderable number; Doria's emissaries found that such of the citizens as remained, being weary alike of the French and Imperial yoke, the rigour of which they had alternately felt, were ready to welcome him as their deliverer, and to second all his measures. Things wearing this promising aspect, he sailed towards the coast of Genoa. On his approach the French gallies retired; a small body of men which he landed, surprised one of the gates of Genoa in the night-time; Trivulci, the French governor, with his feeble garrison, shut himself up in the citadel, and Doria took possession of the town without bloodshed or resistance. Want of provisions quickly obliged Trivulci to capitulate: the people, eager to abolish such an odious monument of their servitude, ran together with a tumultuous violence, and levelled the citadel with the ground.

It was now in Doria's power to have rendered himself the sovereign of his country which he had so happily freed from oppression. The fame of his former actions, the success of his present attempt, the attachment of his friends, the gratitude of his countrymen, together with the support of the Emperor; all conspired to facilitate his attaining the supreme authority, and invited him to lay hold of it. But with a magnanimity of which there are few examples, he sacrificed all thoughts of aggrandizing himself to the virtuous satisfaction of establishing liberty in his country, the highest object at which ambition can aim. Having assembled the whole body of the people in the court before his palace, he assured them that the happiness of seeing them once more in the possession of freedom, was to him a full reward for all his services; that more
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delighted with the name of citizen than of sovereign, he claimed no pre-eminence or power above his equals; but remitted entirely to them, the right of settling what form of government they would now choose to be established amongst them. The people listened to him with tears of admiration and of joy. Twelve persons were elected to new-model the constitution of the republic. The influence of Doria's virtue and example communicated itself to his countrymen; the factions which had long torn and ruined the state seemed to be forgotten; prudent precautions were taken to prevent their reviving; and the same form of government which hath subsisted with little variations since that time in Genoa, was established with universal applause. Doria lived to a great age, beloved, respected, and honoured by his countrymen; and adhering uniformly to his professions of moderation, without arrogating any thing unbecoming a private citizen, he preserved a great ascendant over the councils of the republic, which owed its being to his generosity. The authority he possessed was more flattering, as well as more satisfactory than that derived from sovereignty; a dominion founded on love and in gratitude; and upheld by veneration for his virtues, not by the dread of his power. His memory is still revered by the Genoese, and he is distinguished in their public monuments, and celebrated in the works of their historians, by the most honourable of all appellations, "The father of his country and the restorer of its liberty."

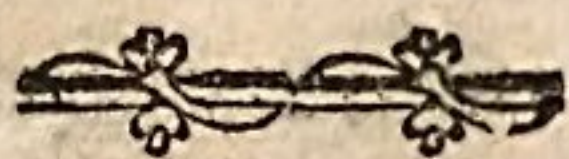


III.

Fiesco's Conspiracy to overturn the Government of Genoa. *

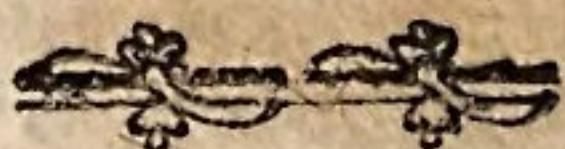
THE form of government which had been established in Genoa, at the time when Andrew Doria restored liberty to his country, though calculated to obliterate the memory of former dissensions, and received at first with eager approbation, did not, after a trial of near twenty years, give universal satisfaction to these turbulent and factious republicans. As the entire administration of affairs was now lodged in a certain number of noble families, many envying them that pre-eminence, wished for the restitution of a popular government, to which they had been accustomed; and though all revered the disinterested virtue of Doria, and admired his talents, not a few were jealous of that ascendant which he had acquired in all the councils of the commonwealth. His age however, his moderation, and love of liberty, afforded ample security to his countrymen, that he would not abuse his power, nor stain the close of his days by attempting to overturn that fabric, which it had been the labour and pride of his life to erect. But that authority and influence, which in his hands were innocent, they easily saw would prove destructive, if usurped by any citizen of greater ambition, or less virtue. A citizen of this dangerous character had actually formed such pretensions, and with some prospect of suc-

* Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. 4to. vol. iii.
P. 113—125.



success. Giannettino Doria, whom his grand uncle Andrew destined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewise at being his successor in power. His temper, haughty, insolent and overbearing to such a degree, as would scarce have been tolerated in one born to reign, was altogether insupportable in the citizen of a free state; and the more sagacious among the Genoese already feared and hated him as the enemy of those liberties for which they were indebted to his uncle. While Andrew himself, blinded by that violent and undiscerning affection which persons in advanced age often contract for the younger members of their family, set no bounds to the indulgence with which he treated him; seeming less solicitous to secure and perpetuate the freedom of the commonwealth, than to aggrandize that underserving kinsman.

But whatever suspicion of Doria's designs, or whatever dissatisfaction with the system of administration in the commonwealth, these circumstances might have occasioned, they would have ended, it is probable, in nothing more than murmurings and complaints, if John Lewis Fiesco, count of Lavagna, observing this growing disgust, had not been encouraged by it to attempt one of the boldest actions recorded in history. That young nobleman, the richest and most illustrious subject in the republic, possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities which win upon the human heart, which command respect, or secure attachment. He was graceful and majestic in his person; magnificent to profusion; of a generosity that prevented the wishes of his friends, and exceeded the expectations of strangers; of an insinuating address, gentle manners, and a flowing affability. But under the appearance

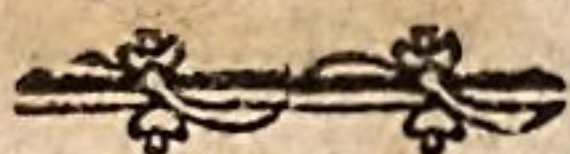


pearance of these virtues , which seemed to form him for enjoying and adorning civil life , he concealed all the dispositions which mark men out for taking the lead in the most dangerous and dark conspiracies ; an insatiable and restless ambition ; a courage unacquainted with fear , and a mind that disdained subordination ; such a temper could ill brook that station of inferiority , wherein he was placed in the republic ; and as he envied the power which the elder Doria had acquired , he was filled with indignation at the thoughts of its descending , like an hereditary possession , to Giannettino. These various passions , preying with violence on his turbulent and aspiring mind , determined him to attempt overturning that domination to which he could not submit.

At first , he thought of an alliance with Francis , and even proposed it to the French ambassador at Rome , as the most effectual means of accomplishing this ; and after expelling Doria , together with the imperial faction by his assistance , he resolved to put the republic once more under the protection of that monarch , hoping , in return for that service , to be entrusted with the principal share in the administration of government. But having communicated his scheme to a few chosen confidants from whom he kept nothing secret , Verrina , the chief of them , a man of desperate fortune , capable alike of advising and of executing the most audacious deeds , remonstrated with earnestness against the folly of exposing himself to the most imminent danger , while he allowed another to reap all the fruits of his success ; and exhorted him warmly to aim himself at that pre-eminence in his country , to which he was destined by his illustrious birth ,

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was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens, and would be raised by the zeal of his friends. This discourse opened such vast prospects to Fiesco, and so suitable to his genius, that, abandoning his own plan, he eagerly adopted that of Verrina. The other persons present, though sensible of the hazardous nature of the undertaking, did not chuse to condemn what their patron had so warmly approved. It was instantly resolved in this dark cabal, to assassinate the two Dorias, as well as the principal persons of their party, to overturn the established system of government, and to place Fiesco on the ducal throne of Genoa. Time however, and preparations, were requisite to ripen such a design for execution; and while he was employed in carrying on these, Fiesco made it his chief care to guard against every thing that might betray his secret, or create suspicion. The disguise he assumed was of all others the most impenetrable. He seemed to be abandoned entirely to pleasure and dissipation. A perpetual gaiety, diversified by the pursuit of all the amusements becoming his age and rank, engrossed, in appearance, the whole of his time and thoughts. But amidst this hurry of dissipation, he prosecuted his plan with the most cool attention, neither retarding the design by a timid hesitation, nor precipitating the execution by an excess of impatience. He continued his correspondence with the French ambassador at Rome, though without communicating to him his real intention, that by his means he might secure the protection of the French arms, if hereafter he should find it necessary to call them to his aid. He entered into a close confederacy with Farnese, duke of Parma, who being disgusted with the Emperor for refusing to grant him the investiture of that duchy, was eager to promote
any



any measure that tended to diminish his influence in Italy, or to ruin a family so implicitly devoted to him as that of Doria. Being sensible that, in a maritime state, the acquisition of naval power was what he ought chiefly to aim at, he purchased four galleys from the Pope, who probably was not unacquainted with the design which he had formed, and did not disapprove of it. Under colour of fitting out one of these gallies to sail on a cruize against the Turks, he not only assembled a good number of his own vassals, but engaged in his service many bold adventurers, whom the truce between the Emperor and Solyman had deprived of their usual occupation and subsistence.

While Fiesco was taking these important steps, he preserved so admirably his usual appearance of being devoted entirely to pleasure and amusement, and paid court, with such artful address, to the two Dorias, as imposed not only on the generous and unsuspicious mind of Andrew, but deceived Giannetino, who, conscious of his own criminal intentions, was more apt to distrust the designs of others. So many instruments being now prepared, nothing remained but to strike the blow. Various consultations were held by Fiesco with his confidents, in order to settle the manner of doing it with the greatest certainty and effect. At first, they proposed to murder the Dorias and their chief adherents, during the celebration of high mass in the principal church; but as Andrew was often absent from these religious solemnities, on account of his great age, that design was laid aside. It was then concerted that Fiesco should invite the uncle and nephew, with all their friends whom he had marked out as victims, to his house; where it would be easy to cut them off



at once without danger or resistance ; but as Giannetino was obliged to leave the town on the day which they had chosen, it became necessary likewise to alter this plan. They at last determined to attempt by open force, what they found difficult to effect by stratagem ; and fixed on the night between the second and third of January, for the execution of their enterprize. The time was chosen with great propriety ; for as the Doge for the former year was to quit his office, according to custom, on the first of the month, and his successor could not be elected sooner than the fourth, the republic remained during that interval in a sort of anarchy, and Fiesco might, with less violence, take possession of the vacant dignity.

The morning of that day Fiesco employed in visiting his friends, passing some hours amongst them with a spirit as gay and unembarrassed, as at other times. Towards evening, he paid court to the Dorias with his usual marks of respect, and surveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his situation, was happy to observe the perfect security in which they remained, without the least foresight or dread of that storm which had been so long a gathering, and was now ready to burst over their heads. From their palace he hastened to his own, which stood by itself in the middle of a large court surrounded by a high wall. The gates had been set open in the morning, and all persons, without distinction, were allowed to enter ; but strong guards posted within the court, suffered no one to return. Verrina meanwhile, and a few persons trusted with the secret of the conspiracy, after conducting Fiesco's vassals, as well as the crews of his gallies, into the palace, in small bodies, with



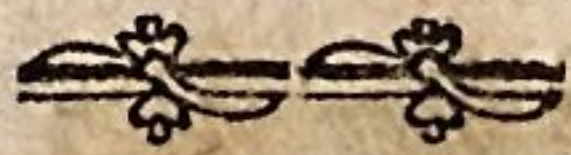
with as little noise as possible , dispersed themselves through the city , and in the name of their patron , invited to an entertainment , the principal citizens whom they knew to be disgusted with the administration of the Dorias , and to have both inclination and courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vast number of persons who now filled the palace , a few only knew for what purpose they were assembled ; the rest , astonished at finding , instead of the preparations for a feast , a court crowded with armed men , and apartments filled with the instruments of war , gazed on each other with a mixture of impatience , curiosity , and terror.

While their minds were in this state of suspense and agitation , Fiesco appeared. With a look full of alacrity and confidence , he addressed himself to the persons of chief distinction , telling them , that they were not now called to partake of the pleasure of an entertainment , but to join in a deed of valour , which would lead them to liberty and immortal renown. He set before their eyes the exorbitant as well as intolerable authority of the elder Doria , which the ambition of Giannettino , and the partiality of the Emperor to a family more devoted to him than to their country , was about to enlarge and to render perpetual. This unrighteous domination , continued he , you have it now in your power to subvert , and to establish the freedom of your country on a firm basis. The tyrants must be cut off. I have taken the most effectual measures for this purpose. My associates are numerous. I can depend on allies and protectors if necessary. Happily the tyrants are as secure as I have been provident. Their insolent contempt of their countrymen , has banished the suspicion and timidity , which
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usually render the guilty quick-sighted to discern, as well as sagacious to guard against the vengeance which they deserve. They will now feel the blow, before they suspect any hostile hand to be nigh. Let us then fall forth, that we may deliver our country by one generous effort, almost unaccompanied with danger, and certain of success. These words, uttered with that irresistible fervour which animates the mind when roused by great objects, made the desired impression on the audience. Fiesco's vassals, ready to execute whatever their master should command, received his discourse with a murmur of applause. To many whose fortunes were desperate, the licence and confusion of an insurrection, afforded an agreeable prospect. Those of higher rank and more virtuous sentiments durst not discover the surprise or horror with which they were struck at the proposal of an enterprise so unexpected and atrocious, as each imagined the other to be in the secret of the conspiracy, and saw himself surrounded by persons who waited only a signal from their leader to perpetrate the greatest crime. With one voice then all applauded, or feigned to applaud, the undertaking.

Having thus fixed and encouraged his associates, before he gave them his last orders, he hastened for a moment to the apartment of his wife, a lady of the noble house of Cibo, whom he loved with tender affection, and whose beauty and virtue rendered her worthy of his love. The noise of the armed men who crowded the court and palace, having long before this reached her ears, she concluded some hazardous enterprise to be in hand, and she trembled for her husband. He found her in all the anguish of uncertainty and fear; and as it was
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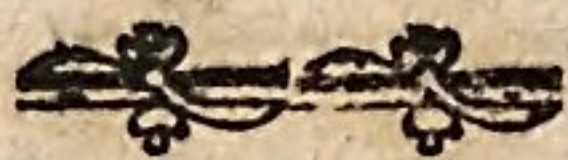


now impossible to keep his design concealed , he informed her of what he had undertaken. The prospect of a scene so full of horror as well as danger, completed her agony ; and foreboding immediately in her mind the fatal issue of it , she endeavoured, by her tears , her entreaties , and her despair , to divert him from his purpose. Fiesco, after trying in vain to soothe and inspire her with hope , broke from a situation into which an excess of tenderness had unwarily seduced him , though it could not shake his resolution. “ Farewell, he cried, as he quitted the apartment ; you shall either never see me more , or you shall behold to - morrow every thing in Genoa subject to your power.”

As soon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper station ; some were appointed to assault and seize the different gates of the city ; some to make themselves masters of the principal streets or places of strength. Fiesco reserved for himself the attack of the harbour where Doria's galleys were laid up , as the post of chief importance, and of greatest danger. It was now midnight, and the citizens slept in the security of peace , when this band of conspirators, numerous , desperate , and well - armed, rushed out to execute their plan. They surprised , without resistance , some of the gates. They got possession of others , after a sharp conflict with the soldiers on guard. Verrina, with the galley which had been fitted out against the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darsena or little harbour , where Doria's fleet lay. All possibility of escape being by this precaution cut off , when Fiesco attempted to enter the galleys from the shore to which they were made fast, as they were unrigged and disarmed , having no crew on board but the

r 4

slaves



slaves chained to the oar , they were in no condition to make resistance. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noise and tumult , all the streets resounding with the cry of Fiesco and Liberty , at that time , so popular and beloved. Many of the lower rank took arms , and joined the conspirators. The nobles and partizans of the aristocracy , astonished or affrighted , shut the gates of their houses , and thought of nothing but securing them from pillage. At last the noise excited by this scene of violence and confusion , reached the palace of Doria ; Giannetino started immediately from his bed , and imagining that it was occasioned by some mutiny among the sailors , rushed out with a few attendants , and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas , through which he had to pass , was already in the possession of the conspirators , who , the moment he entered , fell upon him with the utmost fury , and murdered him on the spot. The same must have been the fate of the elder Doria , if Jerome de Fiesco had executed his brother's plan , and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his palace ; but he , from the sordid consideration of preventing its being plundered amidst the confusion , having forbid his followers to advance , Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death , as well as of his own danger ; and mounting on horseback , saved himself by flight. Meanwhile , a few senators had the courage to assemble in the palace of the republic. At first some of the most daring among them attempted to rally the scattered soldiers , and to attack a body of the conspirators ; but being repulsed with loss , all agreed that nothing now remained but to treat with the party which seemed to be irresistible. Deputies were accordingly sent to learn of Fiesco , what were the concessions with which he would



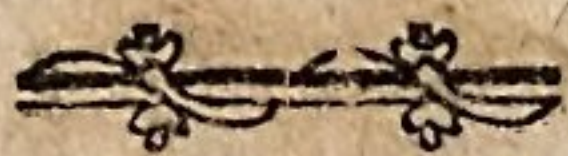
would be satisfied, or rather to submit to whatever terms he should please to prescribe.

But by this time Fiesco, with whom they were empowered to negotiate, was no more. Just as he was going to leave the harbour, where every thing had succeeded to his wish, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard some extraordinary uproar on board the admiral galley. Alarmed at the noise, and fearing that the slaves might break their chains, and overpower his associates, he ran thither; but the plank which reached from the shore to the vessel, happening to overturn, he fell into the sea, whilst he hurried forward too precipitately. Being loaded with heavy armour, he sunk to the bottom, and perished in the very moment when he must have taken full possession of every thing that his ambitious heart could desire. Verrina was the first who discovered this fatal accident, and foreseeing, at once, all its consequences, concealed it with the utmost industry from every one but a few leaders of the conspiracy. Nor was it difficult, amidst the darkness and confusion of the night, to have kept it secret, until a treaty with the senators should have put the city in the power of the conspirators. All their hopes of this were disconcerted by the imprudence of Jerome Fiesco, who, when the deputies of the senate enquired for his brother the count of Lavagna, that they might make their proposals to him, replied with a childish vanity, "I am now the
" only person to whom that title belongs, and with
" me you must treat." These words discovered both to his friends and enemies what had happened, and made the impression which might have been expected upon both. The deputies, encouraged by this event, the only one which could occasion
r 5 such



such a sudden revolution as might turn to their advantage, assumed instantly, with admirable presence of mind, a new tone, suitable to the change in their circumstances, and made high demands. While they endeavoured to gain time by protracting the negociation, the rest of the senators were busy in assembling their partizans, and forming a body capable of defending the palace of the republic. On the other hand, the conspirators, astonished at the death of a man whom they adored and trusted, and placing no confidence on Jerome, a giddy youth, felt their courage die away, and their arms fall from their hands. That profound and amazing secrecy with which the conspiracy had been concerted, and which had contributed hitherto so much to its success, proved now the chief cause of its miscarriage. The leader was gone, the greater part of those who acted under him, knew not his confidents, and were strangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no person among them whose authority or abilities entitled him to assume Fiesco's place, or to finish his plan; after having lost the spirit which animated it, life and activity deserted the whole body. Many of the conspirators withdrew to their houses, hoping that amidst the darkness of the night they had passed unobserved, and might remain unknown. Others sought for safety by a timely retreat, and, before break of day, all of them fled with precipitation from a city, which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as masters.

Next morning every thing was quiet in Genoa; not an enemy was to be seen, few marks of violence of the former night appeared, the conspirators having conducted their enterprise with more noise than bloodshed, and gained all their advantages



rages by surprise , rather than by force of arms. Towards evening Andrew Doria returned to the city , being met by all the inhabitants , who received him with acclamations of joy. Though the disgrace as well as danger of the preceding night were fresh in his mind , and the mangled body of his kinsman still before his eyes , such was his moderation and magnanimity , that the decree issued by the senate , against the conspirators , did not exceed that just measure of severity which was requisite for the support of government , and was dictated neither by the violence of resentment , nor the rancour of revenge.



IV.

The History of Mustapha, Son of Solyman
the Magnificent*.

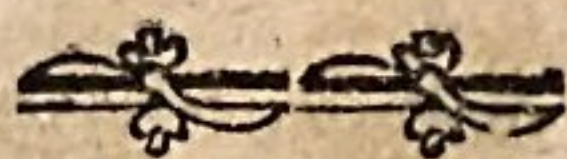
SOLYMAN, though distinguished, by many accomplishments, from the other Ottoman princes, had all the passions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, sudden and furious in his anger, and susceptible of all that rage of love, which reigns in the East, and often produces the wildest and most tragical effects. His favourite mistress was a Circassian slave of exquisite beauty, who bore him a son called Mustapha, whom, both on account of his high birth and merit, he destined to be the heir of his crown. Roxalana, a Russian captive, soon supplanted the Circassian, and gained the Sultan's heart. Having the address to retain the conquest which she had made, she kept possession of his love without any rival for many years, during which she brought him several sons and one daughter. All the happiness, however, which she derived from the unbounded sway that she had acquired over a monarch whom one half of the world revered and dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Mustapha's accession to the throne, and the certain death of her sons, who she foresaw would be immediately sacrificed, according to the barbarous jealousy of Turkish policy, to the safety of the new emperor. By dwelling continually on this melancholy idea, she came
gra-

* Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. 4to. vol. iii.
p. 289—297.



gradually to view Mustapha as the enemy of her children, and to hate him with more than a step-mother's ill will. This prompted her to wish his destruction; in order to secure for one of her own sons the throne which was destined for him. Nor did she want either ambition to attempt such a high enterprise, or the arts requisite for carrying it into execution. Having prevailed on the Sultan to give her only daughter in marriage to Rustan the grand-vizir, she disclosed her scheme to that crafty minister, who perceiving that it was his own interest to co-operate with her, readily promised his assistance towards aggrandizing that branch of the royal line, to which he was now so nearly allied.

As soon as Roxalana had concerted her measures with this able confident, she began to affect a wonderful zeal for the Mahometan religion, to which Solyman was superstitiously attached, and proposed to found and endow a royal mosque, a work of great expence; but deemed by the Turks meritorious in the highest degree. The musti, whom she consulted, approved much of her pious intentions; but, having been gained and instructed by Rustan, told her, that she, being a slave, could derive no benefit herself from that holy deed, for all the merit of it would accrue to Solyman, the master whose property she was. Upon this she seemed to be overwhelmed with sorrow, and to sink into the deepest melancholy, as if she had been disgusted with life and all its enjoyments. Solyman, who was absent with the army, being informed of this dejection of mind, and of the cause from which it proceeded, discovered all the solicitude of a lover to remove it, and by a writing under his own hand declared her a free woman. Roxalana having gained
this



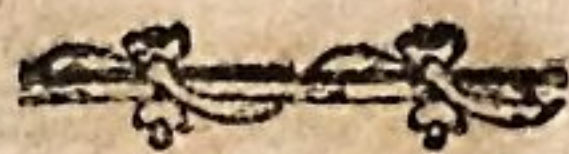
this point, proceeded to build the mosque, and reassumed her usual cheerfulness and gaiety of spirit. But when Solyman, on his return to Constantinople, sent an eunuch, according to the custom of the seraglio, to bring her to partake of his bed, she, seemingly with deep regret, but in the most peremptory manner, declined to follow the eunuch, declaring, that what had been an honour to her while a slave, became a crime as she was now a free woman, and that she would not involve either the sultan or herself in the guilt that must be contracted by such an open violation of the law of their prophet. Solyman, whose passion this difficulty, as well as the affected delicacy which gave rise to it, heightened and inflamed, had recourse immediately to the mufti for his direction. He replied, agreeably to the Koran, that Roxalana's scruples were well founded; but added artfully, in words which Rustan had taught him to use, that it was in the sultan's power to remove these difficulties by espousing her as his lawful wife. The amorous monarch closed eagerly with the proposal, and solemnly married her according to the form of the Mahometan ritual; though by doing so he disregarded a maxim of policy which the pride of the Ottoman blood had taught all the sultans since Bajazet I. to consider as inviolable. From his time, none of the Turkish monarchs had married, because, when he was vanquished and taken prisoner by Tamerlane, his wife had been abused with barbarous insolence by the Tartars. That no similar calamity might subject the Ottoman family to the like disgrace, the sultans admitted none to their bed but slaves, whose dishonour could not bring any such stain upon their house.

But



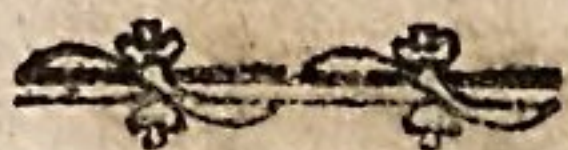
But the more uncommon the step was, the more it convinced Roxolana of the unbounded influence which she had acquired over the sultan's heart; and emboldened her to prosecute, with greater hope of success, the scheme that she had formed in order to destroy Mustapha. This young prince having been entrusted by his father, according to the practice of the sultans in that age, with the government of several different provinces, was at that time invested with the administration in Diarbequir, the ancient Mesopotomia, which Solyman had wrested from the Persians, and added to his empire. In all these different commands, Mustapha had conducted himself with such cautious prudence as could give no offence to his father, though, at the same time, he governed with so much moderation as well as justice, and displayed such valour and generosity as rendered him equally the favourite of the people and the darling of the soldiery.

There was no room to lay any folly or vice to his charge, that could impair the high opinion which his father entertained of him. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined; she turned his virtues against him, and made use of these as engines for his destruction. She often mentioned in Solyman's presence, the splendid qualities of his son; she celebrated his courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praise. As soon as she perceived that the sultan heard these encomiums, which were often repeated, with uneasiness; that suspicion of his son began to mingle itself with his former esteem of him; and that by degrees he came to view him with jealousy and fear, she introduced, as by accident, some discourse concerning the rebellion of his father Selim against Bajazet



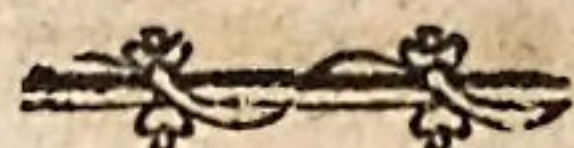
zet his grandfather ; she took notice of the bravery of the veteran troops under Mustapha's command, and of the neighbourhood of Diarbequir to the territories of the Persian Sophi, Solyman's mortal enemy. By these arts, whatever remained of paternal tenderness was entirely extinguished, and such passions were kindled in his breast as gave all Roxalana's malignant suggestions the colour, not only of probability, but of truth. A deep-rooted hatred succeeded now, to his suspicions and fear of Mustapha. He appointed spies to observe and report all his words and actions ; he watched and stood on his guard against him as his most dangerous enemy.

Having thus alienated the sultan's heart from Mustapha, Roxalana ventured on another step, and entreated Solyman to allow her own sons the liberty of appearing at court, hoping that by gaining access to their father, they might by their good qualities and dutiful deportment, insinuate themselves into that place in his affections which Mustapha had formerly held ; and, though what she demanded was contrary to the practice of the Ottoman family in that age, the uxorious monarch granted her request. To all these female intrigues, Rustan added an artifice still more subtle, which completed the sultan's delusion, and heightened his jealousy and fear. He wrote to the bashaws of the provinces adjacent to Diarbequir, instructing them to send him regular intelligence of Mustapha's proceedings in his government, and to each he gave a private hint, flowing, in appearance, from his zeal for their interest, that nothing would be more acceptable to the sultan than to receive favourable accounts of a son whom he destined to sustain the glory of the Ottoman name. The bashaws, ignorant of his fraudulent



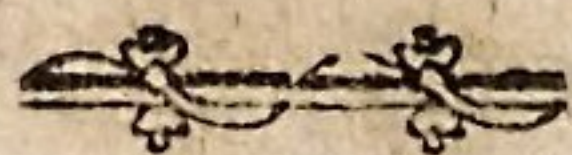
dulent intention , and eager to pay court to their sovereign at such an easy price, filled their letters with studied, but fatal panegyrics of Mustapha, representing him as a prince worthy to succeed such an illustrious father , and as endowed with talents which might enable him to emulate , perhaps to equal his fame. These letters were industriously shewn to Solyman, at the seasons when it was known that they would make the deepest impression. Every expression in recommendation of his son, wounded him to the heart ; he suspected his principal officers of being ready to favour the most desperate attempts of a prince whom they were so fond to praise ; and fancying , that he saw them already assaulting his throne with rebellious arms , he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow , and to secure his own safety by his son's death.

For this purpose , though under pretence of renewing the war against Persia , he ordered Rustan to march towards Diarbequir at the head of a numerous army, and to rid him of a son , whose life he deemed inconsistent with his own safety. But that crafty minister did not choose to be loaded with the odium of having executed this cruel order. As soon as he arrived in Syria he wrote to Solyman , that the danger was so imminent as called for his immediate presence ; that the camp was full of Mustapha's emissaries ; that many of the soldiers were corrupted ; that the affections of all leaned towards him, that he had discovered a negociation , which had been carried on with the Sophi of Persia , in order to marry Mustapha with one of his daughters ; that he had already felt both his talents and his authority to be inadequate to the exigencies of such an arduous conjuncture ; that the sultan alone had sagacity to discern



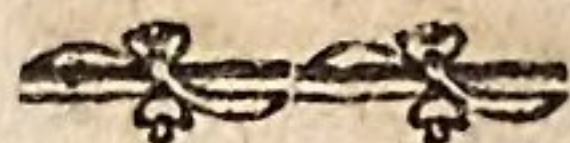
discern what resolution should be taken in those circumstances, and power to carry that resolution into execution.

This charge of courting the friendship of the Sophi, Roxalana and Rustan had reserved as the last and most envenomed of all their calumnies. It operated with the violence which they expected from Solyman's inveterate abhorrence of the Persians, and threw him into the wildest transports of rage. He set out instantly for Syria, and hastened thither with all the precipitation and impatience of fear and revenge. As soon as he joined his army near Aleppo, and had concerted measures with Rustan, he sent a chiaus or messenger of the court to his son, requiring him to repair immediately to his presence. Mustapha, though no stranger to his step-mother's machinations, or to Rustan's malice, or to his father's violent temper, yet relying on his own innocence, and hoping to discredit the accusations of his enemies by the promptitude of his obedience, followed the messenger without delay to Aleppo. The moment he arrived in the camp, he was introduced into the sultan's tent. As he entered it, he observed nothing that could give him any alarm; no additional crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards, but the same order and silence which always reign in the sultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, several mutes appeared, at the sight of whom Mustapha knowing what was his doom, cried with a loud voice, "Lo, my death!" and attempted to fly. The mutes rushed forward to seize him, he resisted and struggled, demanding with the utmost earnestness to see the sultan; and despair, together with the hope of finding protection from the soldiers, if he could escape out of the tent, animated him



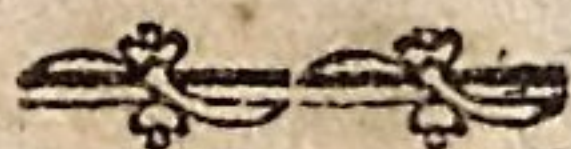
him with such extraordinary strength that he baffled all the efforts of the executioners. Solyman was within hearing of his son's cries, as well as of the noise which the struggle occasioned. Impatient of this delay of his revenge, and struck with terror at the thoughts of Mustapha's escaping, he drew aside the curtain which divided the tent, and thrusting in his head, darted a fierce look towards the mutes, and with wild and threatening gestures seemed to chide them for sloth and timidity. At sight of his father's furious and unrelenting countenance, Mustapha's strength failed, and his courage forsook him; the mutes fastened the bow-string about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life.

The dead body was exposed before the sultan's tent. The soldiers gathered round it, and contemplating that mournful object with astonishment and sorrow, and indignation, were ready, if a leader had not been wanting, to have broke out into the wildest excess of rage. After giving vent to the first expressions of their grief, they retired each man to his tent, and shutting themselves up, bewailed in secret the cruel fate of their favourite; nor was there one of them who tasted food or even water during the remainder of the day. Next morning the same solitude and silence reigned in the camp; and Solyman, being afraid that some dreadful storm would follow this sullen calm, in order to appease the enraged soldiers, deprived Rustan of the seals, ordered him to leave the camp, and raised Achmet a gallant officer, much beloved in the army, to the dignity of vizir. This change, however, was made in concert with Rustan himself; that crafty minister suggesting it as the only expedient which could save himself or his master. But within a few
s 2 months,



months, when the resentment of the soldiers began to subside, and the name of Mustapha to be forgotten, Achmet was strangled by the sultan's command, and Rustan reinstated in the office of vizir. Together with his former power, he reassumed the plan for exterminating the race of Mustapha which he had concerted with Roxalana: and as they were afraid that an only son whom Mustapha had left, might grow up to avenge his death, they redoubled their activity, and by employing the same arts against him, which they had practised against his father, they inspired Solyman with the same fears and prevailed on him, to issue orders for putting to death that young innocent prince. These orders were executed with barbarous zeal, by a eunuch, who was dispatched to Bursa, the place where the prince resided; and no rival was left to dispute the Ottoman throne, with the sons of Roxalana.





VII.

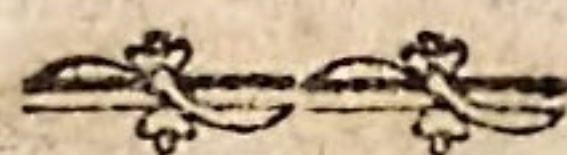
Political Fragments.

I.

Of the different Forms of Government.*

THE ancient philosophers treated of government commonly under three heads ; the democratic , the aristocratic , and the despotic. Their attention was chiefly occupied with the varieties of republican government ; and they paid little regard to a very important distinction , which Mr. Montesquieu has made between despotism and monarchy. He too has considered government as reducible to three general forms ; and , “ To understand the nature of each , he observes , it is sufficient to recal ideas which are familiar with men of the least reflection , who admit three definitions , or rather three facts ; that a republic is a state in which the people in a collective body , or a part of the people , possess the sovereign power : that monarchy is that in which one man governs according to fixed and determinate laws : and a despotism is that in which one man , without law or rule of administration , by the mere impulse of will or caprice , decides , and carries every thing before him.”

* Dr. Ferguson on the Hist. of Civil Society, 8vo.
p. 107—119.



Republics admit of a very material distinction, which is pointed out in the general definition; that between democracy and aristocracy. In the first, supreme power remains in the hands of the collective body. Every office of magistracy, at the nomination of this sovereign, is open to every citizen, who, in the discharge of his duty, becomes the minister of the people, and accountable to them for every object of his trust.

In the second, the sovereignty is lodged in a particular class, or order of men; who being once named, continue for life, or by the hereditary distinction of birth and fortune, are advanced to a station of permanent superiority. From this order, and by their nomination, all the offices of magistracy are filled; and in the different assemblies which they constitute, whatever relates to the legislation, the execution, or jurisdiction, is finally determined.

Mr. Montesquieu has pointed out the sentiments or maxims, from which men must be supposed to act under these different governments.

In democracy they must love equality; they must respect the rights of their fellow-citizens; they must unite by the common ties of affection to the state. In forming personal pretensions, they must be satisfied with that degree of consideration they can procure by their abilities, fairly measured with those of an opponent: they must labour for the public without hope or profit; they must reject every attempt to create a personal dependence. Candour, force, and elevation of mind, in short, are the props of democracy; and virtue is the principle of conduct required to its preservation.

How

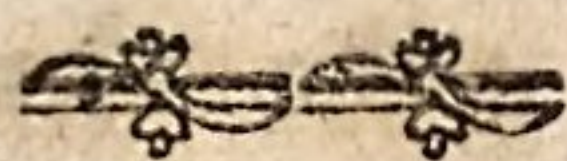
How beautiful a pre-eminence on the side of popular government ! and how ardently should mankind wish for the form , if it tended to establish the principle , or were in every instance a sure indication of its presence !

But perhaps we must have possessed the principle, in order with any hopes of advantage to receive the form ; and where the first is entirely extinguished, the other may be fraught with evil, if any additional evil deserves to be shunned where men are already unhappy.

At Constantinople or Algiers, it is a miserable spectacle when men pretend to act on a foot of equality: they only mean to shake off the restraints of government, and to seize as much as they can of that spoil which, in ordinary times, is ingrossed by the master they serve.

It is one advantage of democracy, that the principal ground of distinction being personal qualities, men are classed according to their abilities, and to the merit of their actions. Though all have equal pretensions to power, yet the state is actually governed by a few. The majority of the people, even in their capacity of sovereign, only pretend to employ their senses; feel, when pressed by national inconveniencies, or threatened by public dangers; and with the ardour which is apt to arise in crowded assemblies, to urge the pursuits in which they are engaged, or to repel the attacks with which they are menaced.

The most perfect equality of rights can never
exclude the ascendant of superior minds , nor the
assem-



assemblies of a collective body govern without the direction of select councils. On this account, popular government may be confounded with aristocracy. But this alone does not constitute the character of aristocratical government. Here the members of the state are divided, at least, into two classes; of which one is destined to command, the other to obey. No merits or defects can raise or sink a person from one class to the other. The only effect of personal character is, to procure the individual a suitable degree of consideration with his own order, not to vary his rank. In one situation he is taught to assume, in another to yield the pre-eminence. He occupies the station of patron or client, and is either the sovereign or the subject of his country. The whole citizens may unite in executing the plans of state, but never in deliberating on its measures, or enacting its laws. What belongs to the whole people under democracy, is here confined to a part. Members of the superior order are among themselves, possibly, classed according to their abilities, but retain a perpetual ascendant over those of inferior station. They are at once the servants and the masters of the state, and pay with their personal attendance and with their blood, for the civil or military honours they enjoy.

To maintain for himself, and to admit in his fellow-citizen, a perfect equality of privilege and station, is no longer the leading maxim of the member of such a community. The rights of men are modified by their condition. One order claims more than it is willing to yield; the other must be ready to yield what it does not assume to itself: and it is with good reason that Mr. Montesquieu gives to the
prin-

principle of such governments the name of moderation, not of virtue.

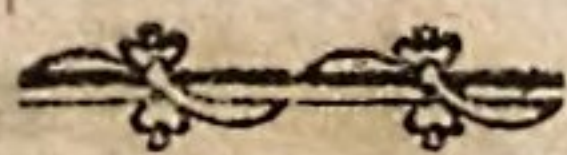
The elevation of one class is a moderated arrogance ; the submission of the other, a limited deference. The first must be careful, by concealing the invidious part of their distinction, to palliate what is grievous in the public arrangement, and by their education, their cultivated manners, and improved talents, to appear qualified for the stations they occupy. The other must be taught to yield from respect and personal attachment, what could not otherwise be extorted by force. When this moderation fails on either side, the constitution totters. A populace enraged to mutiny, may claim the right of equality to which they are admitted in democratical states ; or a nobility bent on dominion, may chuse among themselves, or find already pointed out to them, a sovereign, who by advantages of fortune, popularity, or abilities, is ready to seize for his own family that envied power, which has already carried his order beyond the limits of moderation, and infected particular men with a boundless ambition.

Monarchies have accordingly been found with the recent marks of aristocracy. There, however, the monarch is only the first among the nobles ; he must be satisfied with a limited power ; his subjects are ranged into classes ; he finds on every quarter a pretence to privilege, that circumscribes his authority ; and he finds a force sufficient to confine his administration within certain bounds of equity and determinate laws.



Under such governments, however, the love of equality is preposterous, and moderation itself is unnecessary. The object of every rank is precedence, and every order may display its advantages to their full extent. The sovereign himself owes great part of his authority to the founding titles and the dazzling equipage, which he exhibits in public. The subordinate ranks lay claim to importance by a like exhibition, and for that purpose, carry in every instant the ensigns of their birth, or the ornaments of their fortune. What else could mark out to the individual, the relation in which he stands to his fellow-subjects, or distinguish the numberless ranks that fill up the interval between the state of the sovereign and that of the peasant? or what else could, in states of a great extent, preserve any appearance of order, among members disunited by ambition and interest, and destined to form a community, without the sense of any common concern?

Monarchies are generally found, where the estate is enlarged in population and in territory, beyond the numbers and dimensions that are consistent with republican government. Together with these circumstances, great inequalities arise in the distribution of property; and the desire of pre-eminence becomes the predominant passion. Every rank would exercise its prerogative, and the sovereign is perpetually tempted to enlarge his own; if subjects, who despair of precedence, plead for equality, he is willing to favour their claims, and to aid them in procuring what must weaken a force, with which he himself is, on many occasions, obliged to contend. In the event of such a policy, many invidious distinctions and grievances peculiar to monarchical government, may, in appearance, be re-

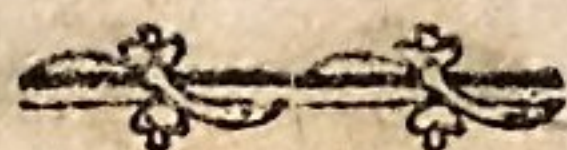


removed; but the state of equality to which the subjects approach, is that of slaves, equally dependant on the will of a master, not that of freemen, in a condition to maintain their own.

The principle of monarchy, according to Montesquieu, is honour. Men may possess good qualities, elevation of mind and fortitude; but the sense of equality, that will bear no encroachment on the personal rights of the meanest citizen; the indignant spirit that will not court a protection, nor accept as a favour, what is due as a right; the public affection, which is founded on the neglect of personal considerations, are neither consistent with the preservation of the constitution, nor agreeable to the habits acquired in any station assigned to its members.

Every condition is possessed of peculiar dignity, and points out a propriety of conduct, which men of station are obliged to maintain. In the commerce of superiors and inferiors, it is the object of ambition, and of vanity, to refine on the advantages of rank; while, to facilitate the intercourse of polite society, it is the aim of good breeding to disguise or reject them.

Though the objects of consideration are rather the dignities of station than personal qualities; though friendship cannot be formed by mere inclination, nor alliances by the mere choice of the heart; yet men so united, and even without changing their order, are highly susceptible of moral excellence, or liable to many different degrees of corruption. They may act a vigorous part as members of the state, an amiable one in the commerce of private society;
or



or they may yield up their dignity as citizens, even while they raise their arrogance and presumption as private parties.

In monarchy, all orders of men derive their honours from the crown; but they continue to hold them as a right, and they exercise a subordinate power in the state, founded on the permanent rank they enjoy, and on the attachment of those whom they are appointed to lead and protect. Though they do not force themselves into national councils, and public assemblies, and though the name of senate is unknown; yet the sentiments they adopt must have weight with the sovereign; and every individual, in his separate capacity, in some measure, deliberates for his country. In whatever does not derogate from his rank, he has an arm ready to serve the community; in whatever alarms his sense of honour, he has aversions and dislikes, which amount to a negative on the will of his prince.

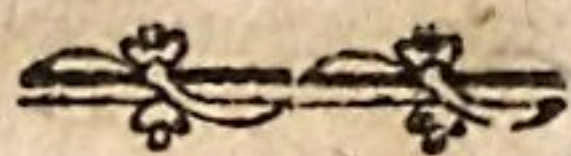
Intangled together by the reciprocal ties of dependence and protection, though not combined by the sense of a common interest, the subjects of monarchy, like those of republics, find themselves occupied as the members of an active society, and engaged to treat with their fellow-creatures on a liberal footing. If those principles of honour, which save the individual from servility in his own person, or from becoming an engine of oppression in the hands of another, should fail; if they should give way to the maxims of commerce, to the refinements of a supposed philosophy, or to the misplaced ardours of a republican spirit; if they are betrayed by the cowardice of subjects, or subdued by



by the ambition of princes, what must become of the nations of Europe?

Despotism is monarchy corrupted, in which a court and a prince in appearance remain, but in which, every subordinate rank is destroyed; in which the subject is told, that he has no rights; that he cannot possess any property, nor fill any station, independent of the momentary will of his prince. These doctrines are founded on the maxims of conquest; they must be inculcated with the whip and the sword; and are best received under the terror of chains and imprisonment. Fear, therefore, is the principle which qualifies the subject to occupy his station: and the sovereign, who holds out the ensigns of terror so freely to others, has abundant reason to give this passion a principal place with himself. That tenure which he has devised for the rights of others, is soon applied to his own; and from his eager desire to secure, or to extend his power, he finds it become, like the fortunes of his people, a creature of mere imagination and unsettled caprice.

Whilst we thus, with so much accuracy, can assign the ideal limits that may distinguish constitutions of government; we find them in reality, both in respect to the principle and the form, variously blended together. In what society are not men classed by external distinctions, as well as personal qualities? In what state are they not actuated by a variety of principles, justice, honour, moderation, and fear? It is the purpose of science, not to disguise this confusion in its object, but, in the multiplicity and combination of particulars, to find the principal points which deserve our attention; and which



which, being well understood, save us from the embarrassment which the varieties of singular cases might otherwise create. In the same degree in which governments require men to act from principles of virtue, of honour, or of fear, they are more or less fully comprised under the heads of republic, monarchy, or despotism, and the general theory is more or less applicable to their particular case.

Forms of government, in fact, mutually approach or recede by many, and often insensible gradation. Democracy, by admitting certain inequalities of rank, approaches to aristocracy. In popular, as well as aristocratical governments, particular men, by their personal authority, and sometimes by the credit of their family, have maintained a species of monarchical power. The monarch is limited in different degrees: even the despotic prince is only that monarch whose subjects claim the fewest privileges, or who is himself best prepared to subdue them by force. All these varieties are but steps in the history of mankind, and mark the fleeting and transient situations through which they have passed, while supported by virtue, or depressed by vice.

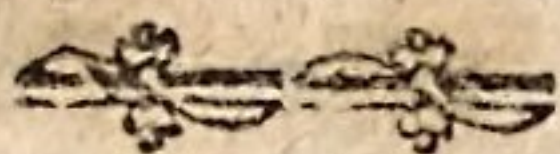
Perfect democracy and despotism appear to be the opposite extremes to which constitutions of government are sometimes carried. Under the first, a perfect virtue is required; under the second, a total corruption is supposed: yet in point of mere form, there being nothing fixed in the ranks and distinctions of men, beyond the casual and temporary possession of power, societies easily pass from a condition in which every individual has an equal title to reign, into one in which they are equally destined
to



to serve. The same qualities in both, courage, popularity, address, and military conduct, raise the ambitious to eminence. With these qualities, the citizen or the slave easily passes from the ranks, to the command of an army, from an obscure to an illustrious station. In either, a single person may rule with unlimited sway; and in both, the populace may break down every barrier of order, and restraint of law.

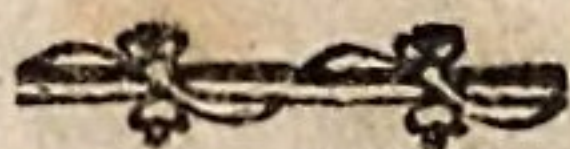
If we suppose, that the equality established among the subjects of a despotic state, has inspired its members with confidence, intrepidity, and the love of justice: the despotic prince, having ceased to be an object of fear, must sink among the crowd. If, on the contrary, the personal equality, which is enjoyed by the members of a democratical state, should be valued merely as an equal pretension to the objects of avarice and ambition, the monarch may start up anew, and be supported by those who mean to share in his profits. When the covetous and mercenary assemble in parties, it is of no consequence under what leader they enlist, whether Cæsar or Pompey; the hopes of rapine or power are the only motives, from which they become attached to either.

In the disorder of corrupted societies, the scene has been frequently changed from democracy to despotism, and from the last too, in its turn, to the first. From amidst the democracy of corrupt men, and from a scene of lawless confusion, the tyrant ascends a throne with arms reeking in blood. But his abuses, or his weaknesses, in the station he has gained, in their turn awaken, and give way to the spirit of mutiny and revenge. The cries of
mur-



murder and desolation, which in the ordinary course of military government, terrified the subject in his private retreat, are carried through the vaults, and made to pierce the grates and iron doors of the Seraglio. Democracy seems to revive in a scene of wild disorder and tumult; but both the extremes are but the transient fits of paroxysm or languor in a distempered state.

If men be any where arrived at this measure of depravity, there appears no immediate hope of redress. Neither the ascendancy of the multitude, nor that of the tyrant, will secure the administration of justice: neither the licence of mere tumult, nor the calm of dejection and servitude, will teach the citizen that he was born for candour and affection to his fellow-creatures. And if the speculative would find that habitual state of war, which they are sometimes pleased to honour with the name of the State of Nature, they will find it in the contest that subsists between the despotical prince and his subjects, not in the first approaches of a rude and simple tribe, to the condition and the domestic arrangement of nations.



II.

Of the Constitution of England*.

IN every government there are three sorts of power: the legislative; the executive in respect to things dependent on the law of nations; and the executive, in regard to things that depend on the civil law.

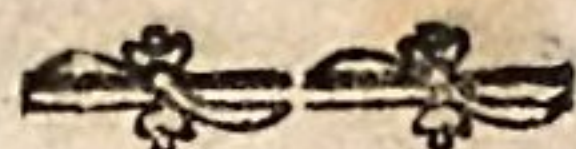
By virtue of the first, the prince or magistrate enacts temporary or perpetual laws, and amends or abrogates those that have been already enacted. By the second, he makes peace or war, sends or receives embassies, establishes the public security, and provides against invasions. By the third, he punishes criminals, or determines the disputes that arise between individuals. The latter we shall call the judiciary power, and the other simply the executive power of the state.

The political liberty of the subject is a tranquillity of mind, arising from the opinion each person has of his safety. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite the government be so constituted as one man need not be afraid of another.

When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty; because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner.

Again

* Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, book xi. chap. vi.



Again there is no liberty, if the power of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive powers. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary controul; for the judge would be then the legislator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with all the violence of an oppressor.

There would be an end of every thing, were the same man, or the same body, whether of the nobles or of the people, to exercise those three powers, that of enacting laws, that of executing the public resolutions, and that of judging the crimes or differences of individuals.

Most kingdoms of Europe enjoy a moderate government, because the prince who is invested with the two first powers, leaves the third to his subjects. In Turkey, where these three powers are united in the sultan's person, the subjects groan under the weight of a most frightful oppression.

In the republics of Italy, where these three powers are united, there is less liberty than in our monarchies. Hence their government is obliged to have recourse to as violent methods for its support, as even that of the Turks; witness the state-inquisitors *, and the lion's mouth, into which every informer may at all hours throw his written accusations.

What a situation must the poor subject be in, under those republics! The same body of magistrates

* At Venice.



strates are possessed, as executors of the laws, of the whole power they have given themselves in quality of legislators. They may plunder the state by their general determinations; and as they have likewise the judiciary power in their hands, every private citizen may be ruined by their particular decisions.

The whole power is here united in one body; and though there is no external pomp that indicates a despotic sway, yet the people feel the effects of it every moment.

Hence it is that many of the princes of Europe, whose aim has been levelled at arbitrary power, have constantly set out with uniting in their own persons, all the branches of magistracy, and all the great offices of state.

I allow indeed that the mere hereditary aristocracy of the Italian republics, does not answer exactly to the despotic power of the eastern princes. The number of magistrates sometimes softens the power of the magistracy; the whole body of the nobles do not always concur in the same designs; and different tribunals are erected, that temper each other. Thus at Venice the legislative power is in the council, the executive in the *pregadi*, and the judiciary in the *quarantia*. But the mischief is that these different tribunals are composed of magistrates all belonging to the same body; which constitutes almost one and the same power.

The judiciary power ought not to be given to a standing senate; it should be exercised by persons



taken from the body of the people *, at certain times of the year, and pursuant to a form and manner prescribed by law, in order to erect a tribunal that should last only as long as necessity requires.

By this means the power of judging, a power so terrible to mankind, not being annexed to any particular state or profession, becomes, as it were, invisible. People have not then the judges continually present to their view; they fear the office, but not the magistrate.

In accusations of a deep or criminal nature, it is proper the person accused should have the privilege of chusing in some measure his judges in concurrence with the law; or at least he should have a right to except against so great a number, that the remaining part may be deemed his own choice.

The other two powers may be given rather to magistrates or permanent bodies, because they are not exercised on any private subject; one being no more than the general will of the state, and the other the execution of that general will.

But though the tribunals ought not to be fixed, yet the judgments ought, and to such a degree as to be always conformable to the exact letter of the law. Were they to be the private opinion of the judge, people would then live in society without knowing exactly the obligations it lays them under.

The

* As at Athens.



The judges ought likewise to be in the same station as the accused, or in other words, his peers, to the end that he may not imagine he is fallen into the hands of persons inclined to treat him with rigour.

If the legislature leaves the executive power in possession of a right to imprison those subjects who can give security for their good behaviour, there is an end of liberty; unless they are taken up, in order to answer without delay to a capital crime; in this case they are really free, being subject only to the power of the law.

But should the legislature think itself in danger by some secret conspiracy against the state, or by a correspondence with a foreign enemy, it might authorise the executive power, for a short and limited time, to imprison suspected persons, who in that case would lose their liberty only for a while, to preserve it for ever.

And this is the only reasonable method that can be substituted to the tyrannical magistracy of the Ephori, and to the state-inquisitors of Venice, who are also despotical.

As in a free state, every man who is supposed a free agent, ought to be his own governor; so the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people. But since this is impossible in large states, and in small ones is subject to many inconveniencies, it is fit the people should act by their representatives, what they cannot act by themselves.



The inhabitants of a particular town are much better acquainted with its wants and interests, than with those of other places; and are better judges of the capacity of their neighbours, than of that of the rest of their countrymen. The members therefore of the legislature should not be chosen from the general body of the nation; but it is proper that in every considerable place, a representative should be elected by the inhabitants.

The great advantage of representatives is their being capable of discussing affairs. For this the people collectively are extremely unfit, which is one of the greatest inconveniences of a democracy.

It is not at all necessary that the representatives who have received a general instruction from their electors, should wait to be particularly instructed in every affair, as is practised in the diets of Germany. True it is, that by this way of proceeding, the speeches of the deputies might with greater propriety be called the voice of the nation; but on the other hand, this would throw them into infinite delays, would give each deputy a power of controlling the assembly; and on the most urgent and pressing occasions the springs of the nation might be stopped by a single caprice.

When the deputies, as Mr. Sidney well observes, represent a body of people as in Holland, they ought to be accountable to their constituents: but it is a different thing in England, where they are deputed by boroughs.

All the inhabitants of the several districts ought to have a right of voting at the election of a representative.

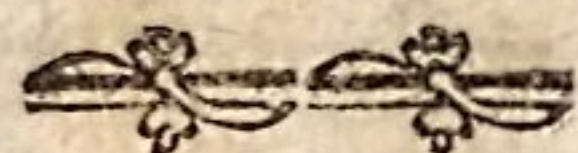


sentative, except such as are in so mean a situation, as to be deemed to have no will of their own.

One great fault there was in most of the ancient republics; that the people had a right to active resolutions, such as require some execution, a thing of which they are absolutely incapable. They ought to have no hand in the government but for the chusing of representatives, which is within their reach. For though few can tell the exact degree of men's capacities, yet there are none but are capable of knowing in general whether the person they chuse is better qualified than most of his neighbours.

Neither ought the representative body to be chosen for active resolutions, for which it is not so fit; but for the enacting of laws, or to see whether the laws already enacted be duly executed, a thing they are very capable of, and which none indeed but themselves can properly perform.

In a state there are always persons distinguished by their birth, riches, or honours; but were they to be confounded with the common people, and to have only the weight of a single vote like the rest, the common liberty would be their slavery, and they would have no interest in supporting it, as most of the popular resolutions would be against them. The share they have therefore in the legislature ought to be proportioned to the other advantages they have in the state; which happens only when they form a body that has a right to put a stop to the enterprises of the people, as the people have a right to put a stop to theirs.



The legislative power is therefore committed to the body of the nobles, and to the body chosen to represent the people, which have each their assemblies and deliberations apart, each their separate views and interests.

Of the three powers above-mentioned, the judiciary is in some measure next to nothing. There remains therefore only two; and as these have need of a regulating power to temper them, the part of the legislative body composed of the nobility, is extremely proper for this very purpose.

The body of the nobility ought to be hereditary. In the first place it is so in its own nature; and in the next there must be a considerable interest to preserve its privileges; privileges that in themselves are obnoxious to popular envy, and of course in a free state are always in danger.

But as an hereditary power might be tempted to pursue its own particular interests, and forget those of the people; it is proper that where they may reap a singular advantage from being corrupted, as in the laws relating to the supplies, they should have no other share in the legislation, than the power of rejecting, and not that of resolving.

By the power of resolving, I mean the right of ordaining by their own authority, or of amending what has been ordained by others. By the power of rejecting, I would be understood to mean the right of annulling a resolution taken by another, which was the power of the tribunes at Rome. And though the person possessed of the privilege of rejecting may likewise have the right of approving,
yet



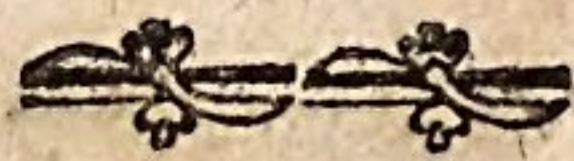
yet this approbation passes for no more than a declaration, that he intends to make no use of his privilege of rejecting, and is derived from that very privilege.

The executive power ought to be in the hands of a monarch: because this branch of government, which has always need of expedition, is better administered by one than by many: whereas, whatever depends on the legislative power, is oftentimes better regulated by many than by a single person.

But if there was no monarch, and the executive power was committed to a certain number of persons selected from the legislative body, there would be an end then of liberty; by reason the two powers would be united, as the same persons would actually sometimes have, and would moreover be always able to have a share in both.

Were the legislative body to be a considerable time without meeting, this would likewise put an end to liberty. For one of these two things would naturally follow; either that there would be no longer any legislative resolutions, and then the state would fall into anarchy: or that these resolutions, would be taken by the executive power, which would render it absolute.

It would be needless for the legislative body to continue always assembled. This would be troublesome to the representatives, and moreover would cut out too much work for the executive power, so as to take off its attention from execut-



ting, and oblige it to think only of defending its own prerogatives and the right it has to execute.

Again, were the legislative body to be always assembled, it might happen to be kept up only by filling the places of the deceased members with new representatives; and in that case, if the legislative body was once corrupted, the evil would be past all remedy. When different legislative bodies succeed one another, the people who have a bad opinion of that which is actually sitting, may reasonably entertain some hopes of the next: but were it to be always the same body, the people upon seeing it once corrupted, would no longer expect any good from its laws; and of course they would either become desperate or fall into a state of indolence.

The legislative body should not assemble of itself. For a body is supposed to have no will but when it is assembled; and besides, were it not to assemble unanimously, it would be impossible to determine which was really the legislative body, the part assembled, or the other. And if it had a right to prorogue itself, it might happen never to be prorogued; which would be extremely dangerous in case it should ever attempt to encroach on the executive power. Besides there are seasons, some of which are more proper than others, for assembling the legislative body: it is fit therefore that the executive power should regulate the time of convening as well as the duration of those assemblies, according to the circumstances and exigencies of state known to itself.

Were the executive power not to have a right of putting a stop to the encroachments of the legislative

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tive body, the latter would become despotic; for as it might arrogate to itself what authority it pleased, it would soon destroy all the other powers.

But it is not proper on the other hand that the legislative power should have a right to stop the executive. For as the execution has its natural limits, it is useless to confine it; besides, the executive power is generally employed in momentary operations. The power therefore of the Roman tribunes was faulty, as it put a stop not only to the legislation, but likewise to the execution itself; which was attended with infinite mischiefs.

But if the legislative power in a free government ought to have no right to stop the executive, it has a right and ought to have the means of examining in what manner its laws have been executed; an advantage which this government has over that of Crete and Sparta, where the Cosmi and the Ephori gave no account of their administration.

But whatever may be the issue of that examination, the legislative body ought not to have a power of judging the person, nor of course the conduct of him who is intrusted with the executive power. His person should be sacred, because as it is necessary for the good of the state to prevent the legislative body from rendering themselves arbitrary, the moment he is accused or tried, there is an end of liberty.

In this case the state would be no longer a monarchy, but a kind of republican, though not a free, government. But as the person intrusted with the executive power cannot abuse it without
bad



bad counsellors, and such as hate the laws as ministers, though the laws favour them as subjects; these men may be examined and punished. An advantage which this government has over that of Gnidus, where the law allowed of no such thing as calling the Amymones * to an account, even after their administration †; and therefore the people could never obtain any satisfaction for the injuries done them.

Though in general the judiciary power ought not to be united with any part of the legislative, yet this is liable to three exceptions founded on the particular interest of the party accused.

The great are always obnoxious to popular envy; and were they to be judged by the people, they might be in danger from their judges, and would moreover be deprived of the privilege which the meanest subject is possessed of in a free state, of being tried by their peers. The nobility for this reason ought not to be cited before the ordinary courts of judicature, but before that part of the legislature which is composed of their own body.

It is possible that the law, which is clear-sighted in one sense, and blind in another, might in some cases be too severe. But as we have already observed, the national judges are no more than the

* These were magistrates chosen annually by the people. See Stephen of Byzantium.

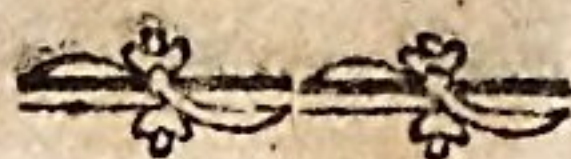
† It was lawful to accuse the Roman magistrates after the expiration of their several offices. See Dionys. Halicarn. l. 9. the affair of Genutius the tribune.



the mouth that pronounces the words of the law, mere passive beings, incapable of moderating either its force or rigour. That part therefore of the legislative body, which we have just now observed to be a necessary tribunal on another occasion, is also a necessary tribunal in this; it belongs to its supreme authority to moderate the law in favour of the law itself, by mitigating the sentence.

It might also happen that a subject intrusted with the administration of public affairs, might infringe the rights of the people, and be guilty of crimes which the ordinary magistrates either could not, or would not punish. But in general the legislative power cannot judge; and much less can it be a judge in this particular case, where it represents the party concerned, which is the people. It can only therefore impeach. But before what court shall it bring its impeachment? Must it go and abase itself before the ordinary tribunals, which are its inferiors, and being composed moreover of men who are chosen from the people as well as itself, will naturally be swayed by the authority of so powerful an accuser? No: in order to preserve the dignity of the people, and the security of the subject, the legislative part which represents the people, must bring in its charge before the legislative part which represents the nobility, who have neither the same interests nor the same passions.

Here is an advantage which this government has over most of the ancient republics, where there was this abuse, that the people were at the same time both judge and accuser.



The executive power, pursuant to what has been already said, ought to have a share in the legislature by the power of rejecting, otherwise it would soon be stripped of its prerogative. But should the legislative power usurp a share of the executive, the latter would be equally undone.

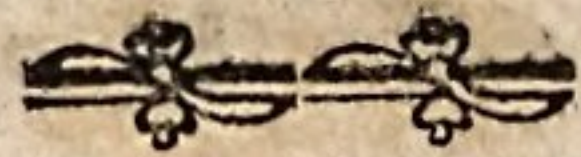
If the prince were to have a share in the legislature by the power of resolving, liberty would be lost. But as it is necessary he should have a share in the legislature for the support of his own prerogative, this share must consist in the power of rejecting.

The change of government at Rome was owing to this, that neither the senate who had one part of the executive power, nor the magistrates who were entrusted with the other, had the right of rejecting, which was entirely lodged in the people.

Here then is the fundamental constitution of the government we are treating of. The legislative body being composed of two parts, one checks the other, by the mutual privilege of rejecting. They are both checked by the executive power, as the executive is by the legislative.

These three powers should naturally form a state of repose or inaction. But as there is a necessity for movement in the course of human affairs, they are forced to move, but still to move in concert.

As the executive power has no other part in the legislative than the privilege of rejecting, it can have no share in the public debates. It is not even
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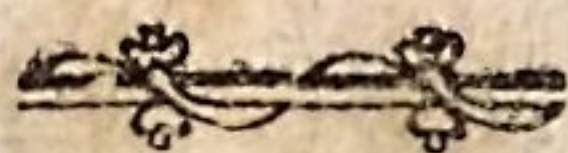
necessary that it should propose, because as it may always disapprove of the resolutions that shall be taken, it may likewise reject the decisions on those proposals which were made against its will.

In some ancient commonwealths, where public debates were carried on by the people in a body, it was natural for the executive power to propose and debate with the people, otherwise their resolutions must have been attended with a strange confusion.

Were the executive power to ordain the raising of public money, otherwise than by giving its consent, liberty would be at an end; because it would become legislative in the most important point of legislation.

If the legislative power was to settle the subsidies, not from year to year, but for ever, it would run the risk of losing its liberty, because the executive power would no longer be dependent; and when once it was possessed of such a perpetual right, it would be a matter of indifference, whether it held it of itself, or of another. The same may be said if it should fix, not from year to year, but for ever, the sea and land forces with which it is to intrust the executive power.

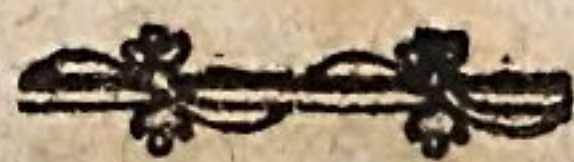
To prevent the executive power from being able to oppress, it is requisite that the armies, with which it is intrusted, should consist of the people, and have the same spirit as the people, as was the case at Rome till the time of Marius. To obtain this end, there are only two ways; either that the persons employed in the army, should have
suffi-



sufficient property to answer for their conduct to their fellow-subjects, and be enlisted only for a year, as was customary at Rome: or if there should be a standing army, composed chiefly of the most despicable part of the nation, the legislative power should have a right to disband them as soon as it pleased; the soldiers should live in common with the rest of the people; and no separate camp, barracks, or fortrefs, should be suffered.

When once an army is established, it ought not to depend immediately on the legislative, but on the executive power; and this from the very nature of the thing; its business consisting more in action than in deliberation.

From a manner of thinking that prevails amongst mankind, they set a higher value upon courage than timorousness, on activity than prudence, on strength than counsel. Hence the army will ever despise a senate, and respect their own officers. They will naturally slight the orders sent them by a body of men, whom they look upon as cowards, and therefore unworthy to command them. So that as soon as the army depends on the legislative body, the government becomes a military one; and if the contrary has ever happened, it has been owing to some extraordinary circumstances. It is because the army has always kept divided; it is because it was composed of several bodies, that depended each on their particular province; it is because the capital towns were strong places, defended by their natural situation, and not garrisoned with regular troops. Holland, for instance, is still safer than Venice; she might drown or starve the revolted troops; for as they
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are not quartered in towns capable of furnishing them with necessary subsistence, this subsistence is of course precarious.

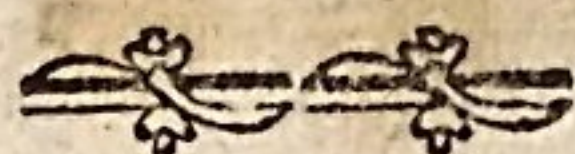
Whoever shall read the admirable treatise of Tacitus on the manners of the Germans, will find that it is from them the English have borrowed the idea of their political government. This beautiful system was invented first in the woods.

As all human things have an end, the state we are speaking of will lose its liberty, it will perish. Have not Rome, Sparta, and Carthage perished? It will perish when the legislative power shall be more corrupted than the executive.

It is not my business to examine whether the English actually enjoy this liberty, or not. It is sufficient for my purpose to observe, that it is established by their laws; and I inquire no further.

Neither do I pretend by this to undervalue other governments, nor to say that this extreme political liberty ought to give uneasiness to those who have only a moderate share of it. How should I have any such design, I who think that even the excess of reason is not always desirable, and that mankind generally find their account better in mediums than in extremes?

Harrington in his Oceana has also inquired into the highest point of liberty to which the constitution of a state may be carried. But of him indeed it may be said, that for want of knowing the nature of real liberty, he busied himself in pursuit of an imaginary one, and that he built a Chalcedon though he had a Byzantium before his eyes.



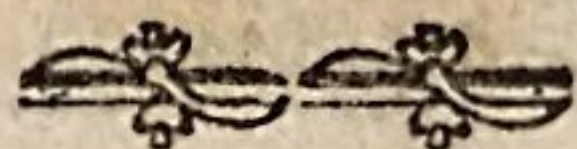
II.

Of public Virtue.*.

IT is a remark of Thucydides, that bad laws well executed are better than good laws not duly observed. It is not enough for a nation to have a good constitution, unless both the governors and people concur in adhering to it with strictness. Abuses once suffered to creep in, so naturally gain ground, so quickly spread, that it requires constant vigilance to prevent their entrance and growth. A jealousy for the public is a commendable jealousy, and if ever the excess of any passion were justifiable, it would surely be so here. That temper of mind to which we give the name of public spirit, is so necessary to all societies, that it is next to impossible they should long subsist without it. Indeed, whatever difficulties particular men may find in the exercise of it, all men agree to commend it. Nor can there be better proof of the excellency of any character, than to see the very men who resolve never to deserve it, taking great pains to make the world believe that they have a right to it.

In times of the greatest corruption, we do not find, that ever a corrupt man of any sense durst openly avow his principles, or declare that he made his own interest the measure of his public conduct. Quite otherwise; such men are apt to start at their own picture, and will not forgive those who discover their views, and represent them in
pro-

* This Essay by Lord Pagett: See Gordon's Tacitus, 3d edit. Vol. v. p. 258.



proper colours. Such tenderness is prudential; since the discovery of ill designs is a step towards defeating them. Besides, men are generally more ashamed of vices which shew the weakness of their understanding, than of those which unfold the corruption of their hearts. It is a confession of the meanness of a selfish disposition, that men are thus loth to be thought governed by it. Though they would be glad to reap benefit from their low pursuits, they are ashamed to be detected in contriving them.

It therefore looks as if it were equally renouncing the rules of good sense, and every impulse of good nature, to be destitute of regard for the welfare of the community, or to imagine that any private advantage can stand in competition with the prosperity of the whole. For one nation to grow rich by the spoils of others, is very unjust, yet not always impolitic. But to weaken and impoverish our own country, is as foolish as it is wicked; since private property must be very insecure, when once that of the public is in danger; nor can it be ever more so than when it comes to be deserted by those whose interest it is to preserve it.

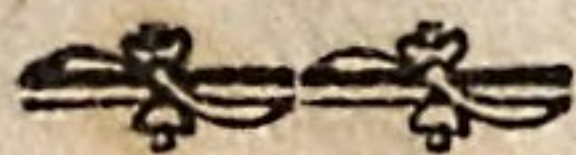
I believe that scarce any constitution has been overturned by mere accidents or misfortunes. Errors at home may have immediately contributed to national ruin, and foreign invasion brought it on. But a long course of mismanagements, of ambition and rapine, of evil and loose administration, has generally preceded all great revolutions; when the leading men made it their only study to supplant, decry, and oppress each other; when the people were on both sides provoked to serve the narrow



and corrupt purposes of particular and opposite leaders, and were animated, not by zeal for their own country, but for hostile factions debauching and rending their country. Whenever cabals, and licentiousness, whenever corruption, and contempt of authority, are the measures of acquiring, and afterwards of supporting power, the consequence must be oppression and injustice, which will naturally introduce disorder and confusion. A government thus sapped in the foundations, like a tree loosened at the roots, will infallibly be overturned by the first unruly blast, and would in time be overset even by its own weight.

Societies can never subsist but through the same means by which they were first instituted. Impartiality, justice, zeal for the public, and a steady adherence to its interest, are the only national securities. When these are wanting, large territories, and great fleets and armies, will prove but feeble supports; and, in spite of all such splendid appearances, destruction will follow. The several changes of government in the Grecian commonwealths are proofs of this observation. Abuses of power made corruption necessary; corruption produced baseness, luxury, and the extinction of all virtue, and these seldom ended but in some kind of usurpation and tyranny. Nor were they brought to a sense of their follies until they had thus suffered for them; and, before they thought of returning to their old principles of honesty and public spirit, they must be first awakened by the severe lash of some arbitrary power.

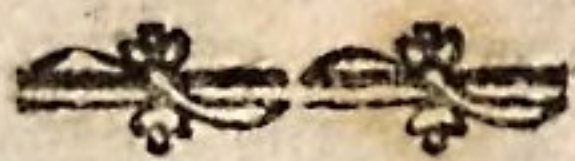
It was for this integrity of manners, for this public spirit, and inviolable attachment to their constitution,



stitution, that the Lacedæmonians were so remarkable, as were also the Romans for many ages, and it was through the decay of public spirit and national integrity, that Athens was so near being destroyed in the course of the Peloponnesian war. Alcibiades, who had boundless ambition, employed his great wealth in debauching the people, that by their assistance he might raise himself upon the ruin of his antagonist. Hence also the peace concluded between the two nations by Nicias, was broken a few years after it was made; a breach which brought on all those losses abroad, all those destructions at home, which had like to have ended in the utter subjection of the republic.

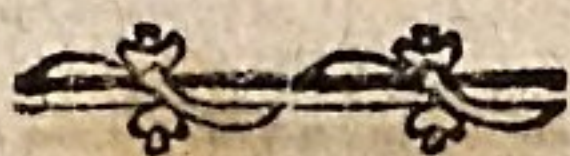
Many examples of this kind are found in the Roman historians; but remarkable above all is the story and conduct of Cæsar, who, by debauching the people, enslaved the state. Whoever reads Tully's Epistles, which are a curious secret history of those times, must be struck with the prodigious dissolution of manners in that once honest and powerful people. Indeed so astonishing was the change, that they were become even past reclaiming. All the smart of their long and heavy misfortunes was not sufficient to bring them back to a sense of their duty to their country. Insomuch that when, by the death of their dictator, liberty was once more, as it were, presented to them, they wanted the courage, or rather they had not the honesty to accept it.

If we inquire into the accounts of latter days, we still find the same causes regularly producing the same effects. What was it that occasioned those long and desperate civil wars which afflicted and almost



most destroyed the great and powerful kingdom of France? Was it not private ambition, private interest carried on under public pretences? The preservation of the old religion, and the modest request of a toleration to the new, were the outward appearances, and very plausible they were. But the unjustifiable ambition of the princes, and the selfish attachment of their dependants, were the secret springs that produced and prolonged those pernicious disturbances, pernicious not only in weakening and impoverishing the state for the present, but in debauching the principles of all orders of men, and making each side look upon the irregular views of their own party as the only objects of attention and zeal, and thus sacrifice the interest, nay, almost the very being of the community to the low and narrow pursuits of furious factions. And when after the short calm of Henry the fourth's reign, the public disorders began to revive in the minority of his successor, and it was found necessary, for the support of the royal power, to curb and break that of the grandees, an opportunity was furnished to two succeeding ministers, for their own security as well as their master's, totally to destroy all possibility of opposition. So that putting an end to the old establishment, in its room they set up a new, which, probably, the French nation will never be able to remove or alter.

It is impossible to forget, on this occasion, the great revolution in a neighbouring kingdom, not much above half a century ago. Whilst the nobility and commons were wisely quarrelling about the manner of raising the money requisite for disbanding the army, two or three parricides snatched the opportunity, and sold the liberties of
their



their country for two hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and changed an elective and limited monarchy, into one hereditary and absolute.

Who can reflect on the folly of such conduct, without surprise, when he considers it as sometimes passing upon the world for mighty artifice and cunning? To barter away substances for shadows, to part with a birthright for a mess of pottage, is an absurdity so glaring, that one might as well believe those who do it to be possessed of real honesty, as with any share of wisdom. Contemptible, and poor, and foolish are any terms, even the highest terms, for betraying one's country. They who do it, do but teach and encourage others to play the same game upon themselves, where they find by their example it may be done with impunity. What is general dishonesty, but general insecurity? To practise villany ourselves, is to authorise it in others against us; and it is as natural to lose by it as to gain by it. They who, for some profit of their own, would defraud mankind of their liberties or fortunes, are like sharpers who intoxicate company with liquor before they play with them. They may succeed in robbing their dupes of their money, but have cause to fear their rage; since by the unjust loss of their money, men are likewise apt to lose all temper.

Without peace of mind there can be no such thing as happiness; nor can there be any peace of mind where there is a sense of guilt, which is naturally accompanied with apprehension of danger. Can such as know that they are not to be trusted themselves, ever frankly trust others? They will be apt to think others like themselves, true only to



self-interest, and so will try to deceive them, as well as despise them for being deceived. Thus endless dishonesty, whether in private or public life, will be attended with endless anxieties, when such as practise it, remember that by all their unrighteous acquisitions, all their guilty success, they can only set themselves up as marks to be shot at, and will have the less chance of escaping by being so much exposed.

Greatness, acquired by great abilities and public spirit, is a noble acquisition, and will be enjoyed with satisfaction, though it cannot always escape obloquy and clamour. But power and pomp purchased by the misery and groans of the people, as it is always detestable, so it is always unsafe. Grandeur, in order to be respected by the public, must be supported with merit towards the public. They who love the people, they who consult their interest and pursue it, are worthy to shine among them, nay, worthy to rule them. But greatness without dignity, which arises as well from public benevolence as from capacity, is like laws without penalties: the weak and simple may perhaps submit to them; but they are despised by those whom they are most wanted to restrain. To be exalted upon the ruins of liberty and laws, to rise by force and iniquity, and to assert superiority over men by hurting and oppressing them, is strange insatiation, a dangerous province. It is like being mounted on an unruly horse without bit or bridle; a situation which no wise man would chuse to be in. When Solon was advised to make use of his interest with his countrymen to seize the supreme rule, he answered wisely, „that tyranny indeed was a fair spot; but there was no way to come out of it.”

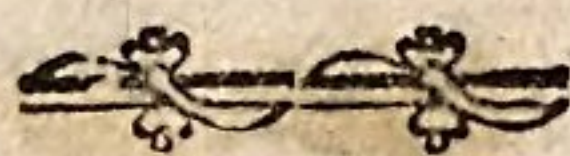
Such



Such as are known not to love their country, cannot reasonably expect to be safe in it, or that enmity to the public will not meet with public hate, which is the next step to public revenge: and they who are indifferent to every interest but their own, though they may purchase flatterers who have minds as bad as theirs, can never be exempt from one miserable reflection, that most men, and all the best men abhor them, whilst only a few of the worst applaud them; nor can they find much delight from the hollow praises of a tribe of fawners, when they remember that injured multitudes are at the same time perhaps cursing them.

That desire of applause is implanted in human nature, and without doubt, intended by the Author of nature as an incitement to virtue and benevolent actions; since by such means only we can be sure of obtaining so pleasing a gratification. We may indeed personate public spirit for a while, yet have none, and for a while pass for virtuous without having virtue: but the fraud will soon be discovered. No disguises can long hide the false patriot; and his hypocrisy will but add to his condemnation, when it is no longer able to cover his guilt.

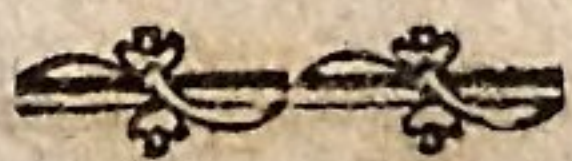
There seems to be one never-failing test whence to distinguish a public-spirited man; even an honest and disinterested heart. This is a sort of constitutional virtue, and whoever has it, is secure against many of the most dangerous temptations. The love of money and of power are violent passions, and few who are strongly possessed with them can safely trust themselves. How naturally does the avaricious man listen to any scheme for filling his coffers? How eagerly does the ambitious man



enter into measures for enlarging his figure and power? How apt are both to flatter themselves that they deserve all that they can possibly possess, that whatever they can grasp is but their due, and that therefore they can never grasp too much? Blinded by these favourite inclinations, they can bear nothing that thwarts them; and as they thus state the account on one side only, the balance must be eternally one way.

The true patriot is content to take the approbation of his own conduct, at least for one part of his reward; neither would he exchange his quiet of mind, or the good wishes of his countrymen, for all the benefit which he could possibly make by justly forfeiting either. He has a general benevolence to the rest of the world, and cannot taste that unnatural happiness of being alone easy among the many that are miserable, especially were they to be miserable by his means. Though he may not set up for any romantic pitch of patriotism, though he do not undertake to devote himself for his country like Curtius, and may be diffident of the weakness of human nature when put upon such awful trials; yet of one virtue he is at all times sure, never to sacrifice the public to his passions or interest, or risque the tranquillity of the state for any views or emoluments of his own.



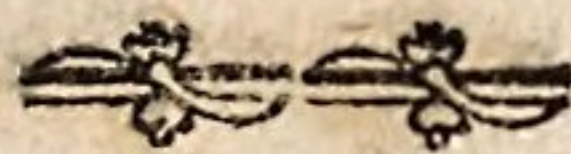


IV.

An Account of the Manners of the Scots-Highlanders *.

THE Highlanders were composed of a number of tribes called Clans, each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the lands of a different chieftain. The members of every tribe were tied one to another, not only by the feudal, but by the patriarchal bond; for, while the individuals, which composed it, were vassals or tenants of their own hereditary chieftain, they were also descended from his family, and could count exactly the degree of their descent; and the right of primogeniture, together with the weakness of the laws to reach inaccessible countries, and more inaccessible men, had, in the revolution of centuries, converted these natural principles of connexion between the chieftain and his people, into the most sacred ties of human life. The castle of the chieftain was a kind of palace, to which every man of his tribe was made welcome, and where he was entertained, according to his station, in time of peace, and to which all flocked at the sound of war. Thus the meanest of the clan, knowing himself to be as wellborn as the head of it, revered in his chieftain his own honour, loved in his clan his own blood, complained not of the difference of station into which Fortune had thrown him, and respected himself. The chieftain in return bestowed a protection, founded equally on gra-

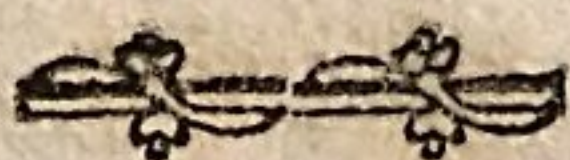
* Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 345 — 353.



gratitude, and the consciousness of his own interest. Hence the Highlanders, whom more savage nations called savage, carried, in the outward expression of their manners, the politeness of courts without their vices, and, in their bosoms, the high point of honour without its follies.

In countries where the surface is rugged, and the climate uncertain, there is little room for the use of the plough; and where no coal is to be found, and few provisions can be raised, there is still less for that of the anvil and shuttle. As the Highlanders were, upon these accounts, excluded from extensive agriculture and manufactures alike, every family raised just as much grain, and made as much rayment, as sufficed for itself; and Nature, whom Art cannot force, destined them to the life of shepherds. Hence, they had not that excess of industry, which reduces man to a machine, nor that total want of it, which sinks him into a rank of animals below his own.

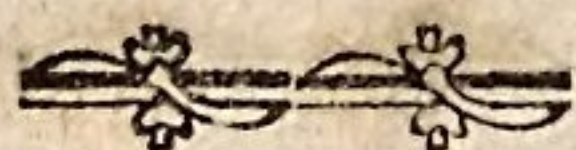
They lived in villages built in vallies, and by the sides of rivers. At two seasons of the year, they were busy; the one, in the end of spring and beginning of summer, when they put the plough into the little land they had capable of receiving it, sowed their grain, and laid in their provision of turf for the winter's fuel; the other, just before winter, when they reaped their harvest. the rest of the year was all their own for amusement or for war. If not engaged in war, they indulged themselves in summer in the most delicious of all pleasures, to men in a cold climate, and a romantic country, the enjoyment of the sun, and of the summer views of Nature; never in the house during
the



the day, even sleeping often at night in the open air among the mountains and woods. They spent the winter in the chase, while the sun was up; and, in the evening, assembled round a common fire, they entertained themselves with the song, the tale, and the dance: but they were ignorant of sitting days and nights at games of skill or of hazard, amusements which keep the body in inaction, and the mind in a state of vicious activity!

The want of a good, and even of a fine ear for music, was almost unknown amongst them; because it was kept in continual practice among the multitude from passion, but by the wiser few, because they knew that the love of music both heightened the courage, and softened the tempers of the people. Their vocal music was plaintive, even to the depth of melancholy; their instrumental either lively for brisk dances, or martial for the battle. Some of their tunes even contained the great, but natural, idea of a history described in music: the joys of a marriage, the noise of a quarrel, the sounding to arms, the rage of a battle, the broken disorder of a flight, the whole concluding with the solemn dirge, and lamentation for the slain. By the loudness and artificial jarring of their war instrument the bag-pipe, which played continually during the action, their spirits were exalted to a phrenzy of courage in battle.

They joined the pleasures of history and poetry to those of music, and the love of classical learning to both; for, in order to cherish high sentiments in the minds of all, every considerable family had a historian who recounted, and a bard who sung, the deeds of the clan, and of its chieftain:
and



and all, even the lowest in station, were sent to school in their youth; partly because they had nothing else to do at that age, and partly because literature was thought the distinction, not want of it the mark, of good birth.

The severity of their climate, the height of their mountains, the distances of their villages from each other, their love of the chase and of war, with their desire to visit and be visited, forced them to great bodily exertions. The vastness of the objects which surrounded them, lakes, mountains, rocks, cataracts, extended and elevated their minds; for they were not in the state of men, who only knew the way from one market-town to another. Their want of regular occupation led them, like the ancient Spartans, to contemplation, and the powers of conversation: powers which they exerted in striking out the original thoughts which Nature suggested, not in languidly repeating those which they had learned from other people.

They valued themselves without undervaluing other nations. They loved to quit their own country to see and to hear, adopted easily the manners of others, and were attentive and insinuating wherever they went; but they loved more to return home, to repeat what they observed, and, among other things, to relate with astonishment, that they had been in the midst of great societies, where every individual made his sense of independence to consist in keeping at a distance from another. Yet they did not think themselves intitled to hate or despise the manners of strangers, because these differed from their own; for they revered the great
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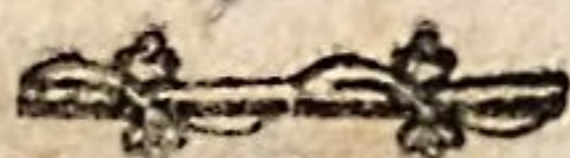
qualities of other nations, and only made their failings the subject of an inoffensive merriment.

When strangers came amongst them, they received them, not with a ceremony which forbids a second visit, not with a coldness which causes repentance of the first, not with an embarrassment which leaves both the landlord and his guest in equal misery, but with the most pleasing of all politeness, the simplicity and cordiality of affection; proud to give that hospitality which they had not received, and to humble the persons who had thought of them with contempt, by shewing how little they deserved it.

Having been driven from the low countries of Scotland by invasion, they, from time immemorial, thought themselves entitled to make reprisals upon the property of their invaders; but they touched not that of each other: so that, in the same men, there appeared, to those who did not look into the causes of things, a strange mixture of vice and of virtue; for, what we called theft and rapine, they termed right and justice: but, from the practice of these reprisals, they acquired the habits of being enterprising, artful, and bold.

An injury done to one of a clan, was held as an injury done to all, on account of the common relation of blood. Hence the Highlanders were in the habitual practice of war; and hence their attachment to their chieftain, and to each other, was founded upon the two most active principles of human nature, love of their friends, and resentment against their enemies.

But



But the frequency of war tempered its ferocity: they bound up the wounds of their prisoners, while they neglected their own, and, in the person of an enemy, respected and pitied the stranger.

They went always completely armed: a fashion, which, by accustoming them to the instruments of death, removed the fear of death itself, and which, from the danger of provocation, made the common people as polite, and as guarded in their behaviour, as the gentry of other countries.

From these combined circumstances, the higher ranks and the lower ranks of the Highlanders alike joined that refinement of sentiment, which, in all other nations, is peculiar to the former, to that strength and hardiness of body, which in other countries, is possessed only by the latter.

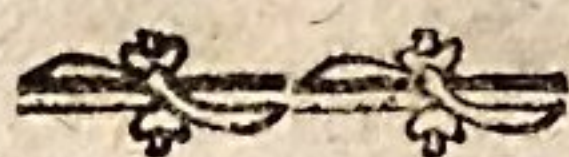
To be modest as well as brave; to be contented with the few things which nature requires; to act and to suffer without complaining; to be as much ashamed of doing any thing insolent or injurious to others, as of bearing it when done to themselves; and to die with pleasure, to revenge the affronts offered to their clan or their country: these they accounted their highest accomplishments.

Their christianity was strongly tinged with traditions derived from the ancient bards of their country; for they were believers in ghosts: they marked the appearances of the heavens, and, by the forms of the clouds, which in their variable climate were continually shifting, were induced to guess at present, and to predict future events; and they even thought, that to some men the divinity had



had communicated a portion of his own prescience. From this mixture of system, they did not enter much into disputes concerning the particular modes of christianity; but every man followed, with indifference of sentiment, the mode which his chieftain had assumed. Perhaps, to the same cause it is owing, that their country is the only one in Europe, into which persecution never entered.

Their dress, which was the last remains of the Roman habit in Europe, was well suited to the nature of their country, and still better to the necessities of war. It consisted of a roll of light woollen, called a Plaid, six yards in length, and two in breadth, wrapped loosely around the body, the upper lappet of which rested on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty; a jacket of thick cloth, fitted lightly to the body, and a loose short garment of light woollen, which went round the waist, and covered the thigh. In rain, they formed the plaid into folds, and, laying it on the shoulders, were covered as with a roof. When they were obliged to lie abroad in the hills, in their hunting parties, or tending their cattle, or in war, the plaid served them both for bed and for covering; for, when three men slept together, they could spread three folds of cloth below, and six above them. The garters of their stockings were tied under their knee, with a view to give more freedom to the limb; and they wore no breeches, that they might climb mountains with the greater ease. The lightness and looseness of their dress, the custom they had of going always on foot, never on horseback, their love of long journeys, but, above all, that patience of hunger, and every kind of hardship, which carried their



bodies forward, even after their spirits were exhausted, made them exceed all other European nations in speed and perseverance of march. Montrose's marches were sometimes sixty miles in a day, without food or halting, over mountains, along rocks, through morasses. In encampments, they were expert at forming beds in a moment, by tying together bunches of heath, and fixing them upright in the ground: an art, which, as the beds were both soft and dry, preserved their health in the field, when other soldiers lost theirs.

Their arms were a broad sword, a dagger, called a Durk, a target, a musket, and two pistols; so that they carried the long sword of the Celtes, the pugio of the Romans, the shield of the ancients, and both kinds of modern fire-arms, all together. In battle, they threw away the plaid and under-garment, and fought in their jackets, making thus their movements quicker, and their strokes more forcible. Their advance to battle was rapid, like the charge of dragoons: when near the enemy, they stopped a little to draw breath and discharge their muskets, which they then dropped on the ground. Advancing, they fired their pistols, which they threw almost at the same instant against the heads of their opponents; and then rushed into their ranks with the broad-sword, threatening and shaking the sword as they ran on, so as to conquer the enemy's eye, while his body was yet unhurt. They fought, not in long and regular lines, but in separate bands, like wedges condensed and firm, the army being ranged according to the clans which composed it, and each clan according to its families: so that there rose a competition in valour of clan with clan, of family with fami-



family, of brother with brother. To make an opening in regular troops, and to conquer, they reckoned the same thing; because in close engagements, and in broken ranks, no regular troops could withstand them. They received the bayonet in the target, which they carried on the left arm; then turning it aside, or twisting it in the target, they attacked with the broad sword the enemy incumbered and defenceless, and where they could not wield the broad-sword, they stabbed with the durk. The only foes they dreaded were cavalry, to which many causes contributed: the novelty of the enemy; their want of the bayonet to receive the shock of horse; the attack made upon them with their own weapon the broadsword; the size of dragoon horses appearing larger to them, from a comparison with those of their country; but, above all, a belief entertained universally among the lower class of Highlanders, that a war horse is taught to fight with his feet and his teeth.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the victories of the Highlanders have always been more honourable for themselves, than of consequence to others. A river stopt them, because they were unaccustomed to swim; a fort had the same effect, because they knew not the science of attack; they wanted cannon, carriages, and magazines, from their poverty and ignorance in the arts; they spoke an unknown language, and therefore could derive their resources only from themselves. Although their respect for their chieftains gave them, as long as they continued in the field, that exact habit of obedience, which only the excessive rigour of discipline can secure over other troops; yet, as soon as the victory was gained, they ac-

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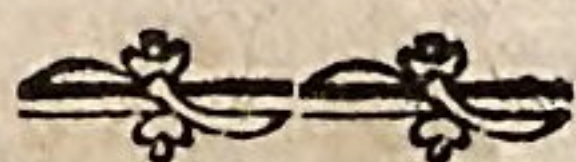
counted their duty, which was to conquer, fulfilled, and ran many of them home to recount their feats, and store up their plunder; and, in spring and harvest, more were obliged to retire, or leave their women and children to die of famine. Their chieftains too were apt to separate from the army, upon quarrels and points of honour among themselves and with others.

V.

A Description of the Welsh*.

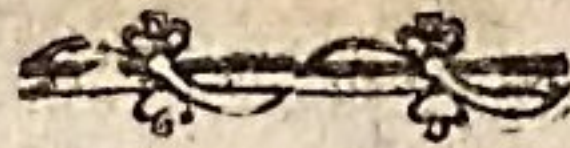
THE general character of the Welsh, as it was in early times, has been given with so much accuracy, spirit, and judgment in the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, a celebrated contemporary author, and one who was himself related to them in blood, that I think it will be proper to collect what he has said in different places, and set the whole picture before the eyes of the reader. He tells us, that not only the nobility and gentry, but the whole people of Wales, were universally addicted to arms: that they gave no attention to commerce, navigation, or mechanical arts, and but little to agriculture; depending for sustenance chiefly on their cattle; and disliking or rather disdaining any labour, except the toils of war and hunting, in which, from their infancy, they trained

* Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. 8vo. vol. II. p. 371 — 378.



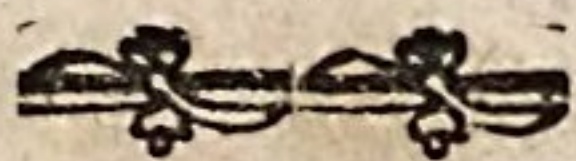
ned themselves up with unwearied alacrity; military exercises, or the severest fatigues in the woods and mountains, being their constant diversions in times of peace. Their bodies were naturally not robust, but by this manner of life they became exceedingly active, hardy, and dexterous in the use of their arms, and ever ready to take them up, when occasion required it. To fight for their country, and lose their lives in defence of its honour and liberty, was their chief pride: but to die in their beds they thought disgraceful.

A very honourable testimony was given to their valour by King Henry the Second, in a letter to the Greek Emperor, Emanuel Comnenus. This prince having desired that an account might be sent him of all that was most remarkable in the island of Britain, Henry, in answer to that request, was pleased to take notice among other particulars, of the extraordinary courage and fierceness of the Welsh, who were not afraid to fight unarmed with enemies armed at all points, willingly shedding their blood, in the cause of their country, and purchasing glory at the expence of their lives. But these words must not be taken in too strict a sense, as if they had absolutely worn no armour: for they used small and light targets, which were commonly made of hides, and sometimes of iron; but, except their breasts, which these guarded, all the rest of their bodies were left defenceless; nor did they cover their heads with casques or helmets; so that in comparison of the English, or other nations in Europe, they might be called unarmed. Their offensive weapons were arrows and long pikes or spears, which were of great use against cavalry; and these they occasionally either pushed with, or



darted ; in which exercise the whole nation was wonderfully expert ; but more especially the men of North Wales , who had pikes so strong and well pointed , that they would pierce through an iron coat of mail ; but those of South Wales , and particularly the province of Guent , or Monmouth , which was then a part of that kingdom , were accounted the best archers , not being inferior , in the use of the long bow , to the Normans themselves.

The common people fought on foot , but some of the nobility rode upon horses bred in their own country , which were high mettled , and swift , but not very strong : and even these gentlemen would frequently dismount , both in combating , and when they fled ; the nature of their country as well as their discipline , being better adapted to foot than horse. Their first onset was terrible ; but , if stoutly resisted , they soon gave ground and could never be rallied ; in which they resembled other barbarous nations , and particularly the Britons and Celts their forefathers. Yet though defeated and dispersed , they were not subdued , but presently returned to make war again upon those from whom they had fled , by ambuscades and night marches , or by sudden assaults when they were least expected ; in which their agility , spirit , and impetuosity made up what they wanted in weight and firmness ; so that , although they were easily overcome in a battle by regular troops , they were with great difficulty vanquished in a war. The same vivacity which animated their hearts , inspired their tongues. They were of quick and sharp wit , naturally eloquent , and ready in speaking without any awe or concern , before their superiors ,

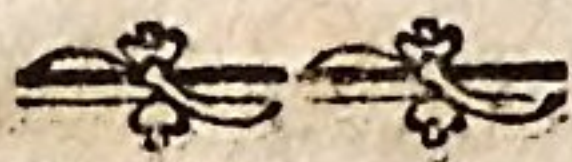


periors, or in public assemblies. But from this fire in their tempers, they were all very passionate, vindictive, and sanguinary in their resentments: nor was their revenge only sudden and violent, when they received any personal injury or affront, or while the sting of it was recent in their minds; but it was frequently carried back, by a false sense of honour, even to very remote and traditional quarrels, in which any of their family had been engaged. For not only the nobles and gentry, but even the lowest amongst them, had each by heart his own genealogy, together with which he retained a constant remembrance of every injury, disgrace, or loss his forefathers had suffered, and thought it would be degeneracy not to resent it as personal to himself; so that the vanity of this people with regard to their families, served to perpetuate implacable feuds and a kind of civil war among private men; besides the dissensions it excited among their kings and chief lords, which proved the destruction of their national union, and consequently broke their national strength.

They were in their nature very light and inconstant, easily impelled to any undertaking, even the most wicked and dangerous, and as easily induced to quit it again; desirous of change, and not to be held by any bonds of faith or oaths, which they violated without scruple or sense of shame, both in public and private transactions. To plunder and rob was scarce accounted dishonourable among them, even when committed against their own countrymen, much less against foreigners. They hardly ever married without a prior cohabitation, it being customary for parents to let out their daughters to young men upon trial for a

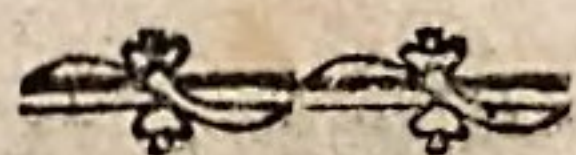
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sum of money paid down, and under a penalty agreed upon between them if the girls were returned. The people in general, and more especially their princes and nobles, gave themselves up to excessive lewdness; but were remarkably temperate in eating and drinking, constantly fasting till evening, and then making a sober meal; unless when they were entertained at the tables of foreigners, where they indulged themselves immoderately, both in liquor and food, passing at once from their habit of abstinence to the most riotous and brutal excess; but nevertheless when they came home, they returned with great ease to their former course of life; and none of their nobles were led by the example of the English, to run out their fortunes by a profuseness in keeping a table. No kind of luxury was yet introduced into their manner of living; not even a decent convenience or neatness. They seemed to be proud of not wanting those delicacies which other nations are proud of enjoying. Their kings indeed, and a few of their nobles, had built some castles in imitation of the English: but most of their gentry still continued to dwell in huts made of wattles and situated in solitudes, by the sides of the woods, as most convenient for hunting and pasture, or for a retreat in time of war. They had no gardens or orchards, nor any improvements about their dwellings, which they commonly changed every year and removed to other places, (as the Britons and Celts their ancestors had been accustomed to do) for the sake of fresh pasture and a new supply of game.

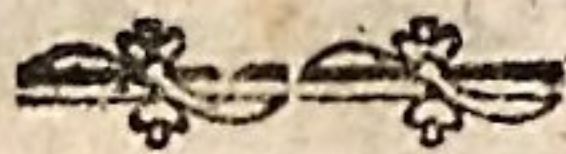
Their furniture was as simple and mean as their houses, such as might answer the mere necessities



ties of gross and uncivilized nature. The only elegance amongst them was musick, which they were so fond of, that in every family there generally were some who played on the harp; and skill in that instrument was valued by them more than all other knowledge. This greatly contributed to keep up that chearfulness which was more universal and constant in the Welsh than in the Saxons or Normans,

Notwithstanding their poverty, they were so hospitable that every man's house was open to all; and thus no wants were felt by the most indigent, nor was there a beggar in the nation. When any stranger or traveller came to a house, he used no other ceremony than, at his first entrance, to deliver his arms into the hand of the master, who thereupon offered to wash his feet; which if he accepted, it was understood to signify his intention of staying there all night; and none who did so was refused. Whatever the number or quality of their guests might happen to be, the master and mistress of the house waited on them, and would not sit down at table with them, or taste any food till they had supped. The fire was placed in the middle of the room, on each side of which was spread a coarse bed of hemp over a thin mat of rushes, where the whole family and their guests slept together, without even a curtain betwixt them. Their feet lay always next to the fire, which being kept burning all night supplied the want of bed-cloaths, for they had no covering but the clothes they wore in the day.

It was customary among them to receive in a morning large companies of young men, who following



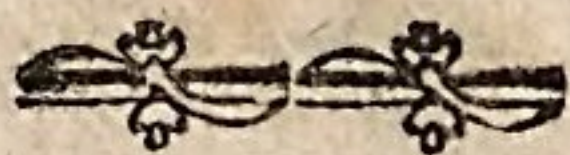
lowing no occupation but arms, whenever they were not in action strolled over the country, and entered into any house that they found in their way, where they were entertained till the evening, with the music of the harp and free conversation with the young women of the family: upon which Giraldus Cambrensis makes this remark, that of all the nations in the universe none were more jealous of their women than the Irish or less than the Welsh. In other respects their manners so nearly agreed, when that author wrote, as to discover the marks of a Celtic origin common to both.

VI.

A general Description of the Manners of the AMERICANS*.

THE Aborigines of America, throughout the whole extent of the two vast continents which they inhabit, and amongst the infinite number of nations and tribes into which they are divided, differ very little from each other in their manners and customs; and they all form a very striking picture of the most distant antiquity. Whoever considers the Americans of this day, not only studies the manners of a remote present nation, but he studies in some measure the antiquities of all nations; from which no mean lights may be thrown

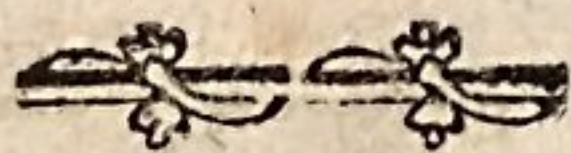
* See an Account of the European Settlements in America; vol. i. p. 167—175.



thrown upon many parts of the ancient authors both sacred and profane. The learned Lafitau has laboured this point with great success in a work which deserves to be read amongst us much more than I find it is.

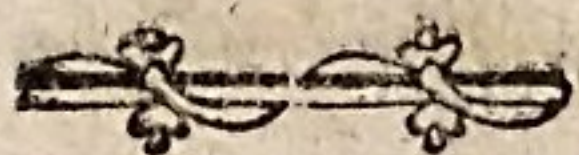
The people of America are tall and straight in their limbs beyond the proportion of most nations; their bodies are strong; but of a species of strength rather fitted to endure much hardship, than to continue long at any servile work, by which they are quickly consumed; it is the strength of a beast of prey, rather than that of a beast of burden. Their bodies and heads are flattish, the effect of art; their features are regular, but their countenances fierce; their hair long, black, lank, and as strong as that of a horse. No beards. The colour of their skin a reddish brown, admired amongst them and improved by the constant use of bears fat and paint.

When the Europeans first came into America, they found the people quite naked, except those parts which it is common for the most uncultivated people to conceal. Since that time they have generally a coarse blanket to cover them, which they buy from us. The whole fashion of their lives is of a piece, hardy, poor, and squalid; and their education from their infancy is solely directed to fit their bodies for this mode of life, and to form their minds to inflict and to endure the greatest evils. Their only occupations are hunting and war. Agriculture is left to the women. Merchandise they contemn. When their hunting season is past, which they go through with much patience and in which they exert great ingenuity, they pass the rest of



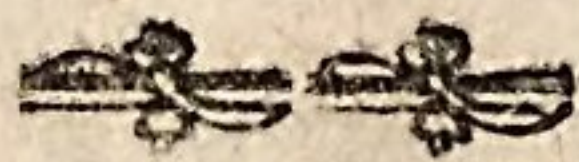
of their time in an entire indolence. They sleep half the day in their huts, they loiter and jest among their friends, and they observe no bounds or decency in their eating and drinking. Before we discovered them, they had no spirituous liquors; but now the acquirement of these is what gives a spur to their industry, and enjoyment to their repose. This is the principal end they pursue in their treaties with us, and from this they suffer inexpressible calamities; for having once begun to drink, they can preserve no measures, but continue a succession of drunkenness, as long as their means of procuring liquor last. In this condition they lie exposed on the earth to all the inclemency of the seasons, which wastes them by a train of the most fatal disorders; they perish in rivers and marshes; they tumble into the fire; they quarrel and very frequently murder each other; and in short, excess in drinking, which with us is rather immoral than very destructive, amongst this uncivilized people, who have not art enough to guard against the consequences of their vices, is a public calamity. The few amongst them who live free from this evil, enjoy the reward of their temperance in a robust and healthy old age. The disorders which a complicated luxury has introduced and supports in Europe, are strangers here.

The character of the Indians is striking. They are grave even to sadness in their deportment upon any serious occasion; observant of those in company; respectful to the old: of a temper cool and deliberate; by which they are never in haste to speak before they have thought well upon the matter, and are sure the person who spoke before them has finished all he had to say. They have therefore
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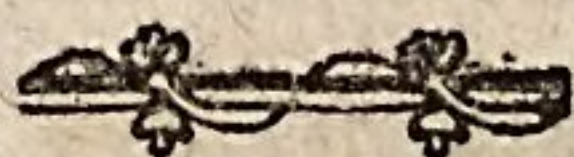
the greatest contempt for the vivacity of the Europeans, who interrupt each other, and frequently speak altogether. Nothing is more edifying than their behaviour in their public councils and assemblies. Every man there is heard in his turn according as his years, his wisdom, or his services to his country have ranked him. Not a word, not a whisper, not a murmur is heard from the rest while he speaks. No indecent condemnation, no ill-timed applause. The younger sort attend for their instruction. Here they learn the history of their nation, here they are inflamed with the songs of those who celebrate the warlike actions of their ancestors; and here they are taught what are the interests of their country and how to pursue them.

There is no people amongst whom the laws of hospitality are more sacred, or executed with more generosity and good will. Their houses, their provisions, even their young women, are not enough to oblige a guest. To those of their own nation they are likewise very humane and beneficent. Has any one of them succeeded ill in his hunting? has his harvest failed? or is his house burnt? He feels no other effect of his misfortune, than that it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his fellow-citizens, who for that purpose have all things almost in common. But to the enemies of his country, or to those who have privately offended, the American is implacable. He conceals his sentiments, he appears reconciled, until by some treachery or surprise he has an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment; no distance of place great enough to protect the object; he crosses the steepest moun-

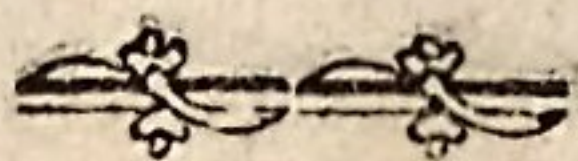


mountains, he pierces the most impracticable forests, and traverses the most hideous bogs and deserts for several hundreds of miles, bearing the inclemency of the seasons, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with patience and chearfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, on whom he exercises the most shocking barbarities, even to the eating of his flesh. To such extremes do the Indians push their friendship or their enmity; and such indeed, in general, is the character of all strong and uncultivated minds.

Notwithstanding this ferocity, no people have their anger, or at least the show of their anger, more under their command. From their infancy they are formed with care to endure scoffs, taunts, blows, and every sort of insult patiently, or at least with a composed countenance. This is one of the principal objects of their education. They esteem nothing so unworthy a man of sense and constancy as a peevish temper and a proneness to a sudden and rash anger. And this so far has an effect, that quarrels happen as rarely among them when they are not intoxicated with liquor, as does the chief cause of all quarrels, hot and abusive language. But human nature is such, that, as virtues may with proper management be engrafted upon almost all sorts of vicious passions, so vices naturally grow out of the best dispositions, and are the consequence of those regulations that produce and strengthen them. This is the reason that, when the passions of the Americans are roused, being shut up as it were, and converging into a narrow point, they become more furious; they are dark, sullen, treacherous, and unappeaseable.



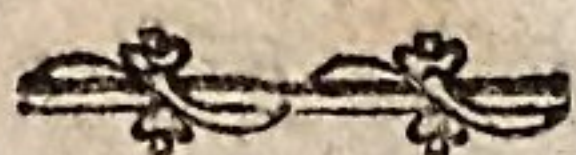
A people who live by hunting, who inhabit mean cottages, and are given to change the place of their habitation, are seldom very religious. The Americans have scarce any temples. We hear indeed of some, and those extremely magnificent, amongst the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians; but the Mexicans and Peruvians were comparatively civilized nations. Those we know at present in any part of America are no way comparable to them. Some appear to have very little idea of God. Others entertain better notions, they hold the existence of the Supreme Being, eternal and incorruptible, who has power over all. Satisfied with owning this, which is traditionary amongst them, they give him no sort of worship. There are indeed nations in America, who seem to pay some religious homage to the sun and moon; and as most of them have a notion of some invisible beings, who continually intermeddle in their affairs, they discourse much of demons, nymphs, fairies, or beings equivalent. They have ceremonies too, that seem to shew they had once a more regular form of religious worship; for they make a sort of oblation of their first fruits; observe certain ceremonies at the full moon, and have in their festivals many things that very probably came from a religious origin, though they perform them as things handed down to them from their ancestors, without knowing or inquiring about the reason. Though without religion, they abound in superstitions, as it is common for those to do, whose subsistence depends, like theirs, upon Fortune. Great observers of omens and dreams, and pry into futurity with great eagerness, they abound in diviners, augurs, and magicians, whom they rely much upon in all affairs that concern them, whe.



whether of health, war, or hunting. Their physic, which may rather be called magic, is entirely in the hands of the priests. The sick are naturally prone to superstition, and human help in such cases is generally found so weak, that it is no wonder that, in all countries and ages, people have amused themselves in that dismal circumstance of human nature, with the hope of supernatural assistance.

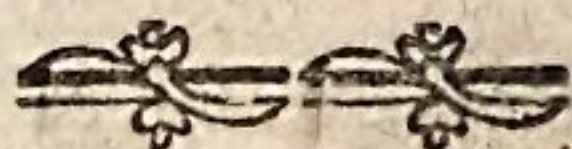
Their physicians generally treat them, in whatever disorder, in the same way. That is, they first inclose them in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which is a stone red hot; on this they throw water, until the patient is well soaked with the warm vapour and his own sweat; then they hurry him from the bagnio and plunge him suddenly into the next river. This is repeated as often as they judge necessary, and by this method extraordinary cures are sometimes performed. But it frequently happens too, that this rude method kills the patient in the very operation, especially in the new disorders brought to them from Europe; and it is partly owing to this manner of proceeding, that the small-pox has proved so much more fatal to them than to us. It must not be denied that they have the use of some specifics of wonderful efficacy; the power of which they however attribute to the magical ceremonies with which they are constantly administered. And it is remarkable, that purely by an application of herbs they frequently cure wounds, which with us refuse to yield to the most judicious methods.

The loss of any one of their people, whether by a natural death, or by war, is lamented by the whole



whole town he belongs to. In such circumstances no business is taken in hand, however important, nor any rejoicing permitted, however interesting the occasion, until all the pious ceremonies due to the dead are performed. These are always discharged with the greatest solemnity. The dead body is washed, anointed, and painted so as in some measure to abate the horrors of death. Then the women lament the loss with the most bitter cries, and the most hideous howling, intermixed with songs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased, and those of his ancestors. The men mourn in a less extravagant manner. The whole village attends the body to the grave, which is interred, habited in their most sumptuous ornaments. With the body of the deceased are placed his bow and arrows, with what he valued most in his life, and provisions for the long journey he is to take: for they hold the immortality of the soul universally, but their idea is gross. Feasting attends this, as it does every solemnity. After the funeral, they who are nearly allied to the deceased conceal themselves in their huts for a considerable time, to indulge their grief. The compliments of condolence are never omitted, nor are presents wanting upon this occasion. After some time they revisit the grave; they renew their sorrow; they new clothe the remains of the body, and act over again the solemnities of the first funeral.

Of all their instances of regard to their deceased friends, none is so striking as what they call the feast of the dead, or the feast of souls. The day of this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp
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and magnificence. The riches of the nation are exhausted on this occasion, and all their ingenuity displayed. The neighbouring people are invited to partake of the feast, and to be witnesses of the solemnity. At this time, all who have died since the last solemn feast of that kind are taken out of their graves. Those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages are diligently sought for, and brought to this great rendezvous of carcases. It is not difficult to conceive the horror of this general disinterment. I cannot paint it in a more lively manner than it is by Lafitau.

„ Without question, says he, the opening of these tombs displays one of the most striking scenes that can be conceived; this humbling portrait of human misery, in so many images of death, wherein she seems to take a pleasure to paint herself in a thousand various shapes of horror in the several carcases, according to the degree in which corruption has prevailed over them, or the manner in which it has attacked them. Some appear dry and withered; others have a sort of parchment upon their bones; some look as if they were baked and then smoked, without any appearance of rottenness; some are just turning towards the point of putrefaction; whilst others are swarming with worms, and drowned in corruption. I know not which ought to strike us most, the horror of so shocking a sight, or the tender piety and affection of these poor people towards their departed friends; for nothing deserves our admiration more, than that eager diligence and attention with which they discharge this melancholy duty of their tenderness; gathering up carefully even the smallest bones;
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handling the carcases, disgusting as they are, with every thing loathsome; cleansing them from the worms, and carrying them upon their shoulders through tiresome journies of several days, without being discouraged by their insupportable stench, and without suffering any other emotions to arise, than those of regret, for having lost persons who were so dear to them in their lives, and so lamented in their death."

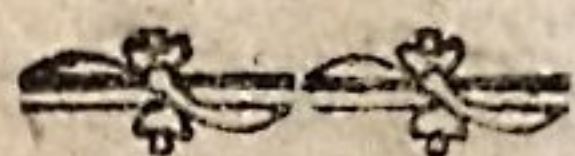
This strange festival is the most magnificent and solemn which they have; not only on account of the great concourse of natives and strangers, and of the pompous re-interment they give to their dead, whom they dress in the finest skins they can get, after having exposed them some time in this pomp; but for the games of all kinds which they celebrate upon the occasion, in the spirit of those which the ancient Greeks and Romans celebrated upon similar occasions.

In this manner do they endeavour to sooth the calamities of life, by the honours they pay their dead; honours, which are the more cheerfully bestowed, because in his turn each man expects to receive them himself. Though amongst these savage nations this custom is impressed with strong marks of the ferocity of their nature; an honour for the dead, a tender feeling of their absence, and a revival of their memory, are some of the most excellent instruments for smoothing our rugged nature into humanity. In civilized nations ceremonies are less practised, because other instruments for the same purposes are less wanted, but it is certain a regard for the dead is antient and universal.



Though the women in America have generally the laborious part of the œconomy upon themselves, yet they are far from being the slaves they appear, and are not at all subject to the great subordination in which they are placed in countries where they seem to be more respected. On the contrary, all the honours of the nation are on the side of the women. They even hold their councils, and have their share in all deliberations which concern the state; nor are they found inferior to the part they act. Polygamy is practised by some nations, but it is not general. In most, they content themselves with one wife; but a divorce is admitted, and for the same causes that it was allowed amongst the Jews, Greeks, and Romans. No nation of the Americans is without a regular marriage, in which there are many ceremonies; the principal of which is, the bride's presenting the bridegroom with a plate of their corn.

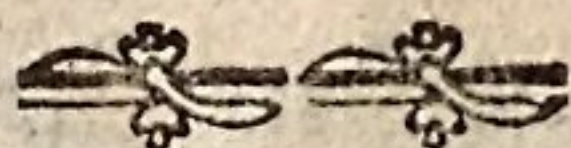
Incontinent before wedlock, after marriage the chastity of their women is remarkable. The punishment of the adulterers as well as that of the adulterer, is in the hands of the husband himself; and it is often severe, as inflicted by one who is at once the party and the judge. Their marriages are not fruitful, seldom producing above two or three children, but they are brought forth with less pain than our women suffer upon such occasions; and with little consequent weakness. Probably, that severe life, which both sexes lead, is not favourable to procreation. And the habit unmarried women have of procuring abortions, in which they rarely fail, makes them the more unfit for bearing children afterwards. This is one of the reasons of the depopulation of America; for
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whatever losses they suffer, either by epidemical diseases or by war, are repaired slowly.

Almost the sole occupation of the American is war, or such an exercise as qualifies him for it. His whole glory consists in this; and no man is at all considered until he has increased the strength of his country with a captive, or adorned his house with a scalp of one of its enemies. When the ancients resolve upon war, they do not always declare what nation it is they are determined to attack; that the enemy, upon whom they really intend to fall, may be off his guard. Nay, they even sometimes let years pass over without committing any act of hostility, that the vigilance of all may be unbent by the long continuance of the watch, and the uncertainty of the danger. In the mean time, they are not idle at home. The principal captain summons the youth of the town to which he belongs; the war kettle is set on the fire; the war songs and dances commence; the hatchet is sent to all the villages of the same nation, and to all its allies; the fire catches; the war songs are heard in all parts; and the most hideous howlings continue without intermission day and night, over that whole tract of country. The women add their cries to those of the men, lamenting those whom they have either lost in war or by a natural death, and demanding their places to be supplied from their enemies; stimulating the young men by a sense of shame, which women know how to excite in the strongest manner, and can take the best advantage of when excited.

When by these, and every other means, the fury of the nation is raised to the greatest height,
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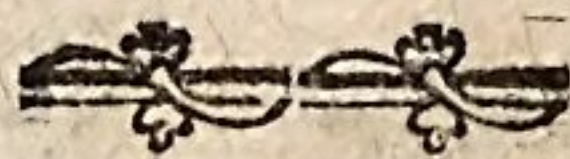
and all long to embrue their hands in blood; the war captain prepares the feast, which consists of dogs flesh. All that partake of this feast, receive little billets, which are so many engagements which they take to be faithful to each other, and obedient to their commander. None are forced to the war; but when they have accepted this billet, they are looked upon as listed, and it is then death to recede. All the warriors in this assembly have their faces blackened with charcoal, intermixed with dashes and streaks of vermilion, which give them a most horrid appearance. Their hair is dressed up in an odd manner, with feathers of various kinds. In this assembly, which is preparatory to their military expedition, the chief begins the war song; which having continued for some time, he raises his voice to the highest pitch, and turning off suddenly to a sort of prayer, addresses himself to the god of war, whom they call Areskoni: „I invoke thee, says he, to be favourable to my enterprize! I invoke thy care upon me and my family! I invoke ye likewise, all ye spirits and demons good and evil! All ye that are in the skies, or on the earth, or under the earth, to pour destruction upon our enemies, and to return me and my companions safely to our country.” All the warriors join him in this prayer, with shouts and acclamations. The captain renews his song, strikes his club against the stakes of his cottage, and begins the war dance, accompanied with the shouts of all his companions, which continue as long as he dances.

The day appointed for their departure being arrived, they take leave of their friends; they change their clothes, or whatever moveables they have,

have, in token of mutual friendship; their wives and female relations go out before them, and attend at some distance from the town. The warriors march out all drest in their finest apparel and most showy ornaments, regularly one after another, for they never march in rank. The chief walks slowly on before them, singing the death song, whilst the rest observe the most profound silence. When they come up to their women, they deliver up to them all their finery, put on their worst clothes, and then proceed as their commander thinks fit.

Their motives for engaging in a war, are rarely those views which excite us to it. They have no other end but the glory of the victory, or the benefit of the slaves which it enables them to add to their nation, or sacrifice to their brutal fury; and it is rare that they take any pains to give their wars even a colour of justice. It is no way uncommon among them, for the young men to make feasts of dogs flesh, and dances, in small parties, in the midst of the most profound peace. They fall sometimes on one nation, and sometimes on another, and surprise some of their hunters, whom they scalp and bring home as prisoners. Their senators wink at this, or rather encourage it, as it tends to keep up the martial spirit of their people, inures them to watchfulness and hardship, and gives them an early taste for blood.

The qualities in an Indian war, are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a surprise; and patience and strength to endure the intolerable fatigues and hardships which always attend it. The



nations of America are at an immense distance from each other, with a vast desert frontier, and hid in the bosom of hideous, and almost boundless forests. These must be traversed before they meet an enemy, who is often at such a distance as might be supposed to prevent either quarrel or danger. But, notwithstanding the secrecy of the destination of the party that first moves, the enemy has frequent notice of it, is prepared for the attack, and ready to take advantage in the same manner of the least want of vigilance in the aggressors. Their whole art of war consists in this: they never fight in the open field, but upon some very extraordinary occasions; not from cowardice, for they are brave; but they despise this method, as unworthy an able warrior, and as an affair in which fortune governs more than prudence. The principal things which help them to find out their enemies, are the smoke of their fires, which they smell at a distance almost incredible; and their tracks, in the discovery and distinguishing of which, they are possessed of a sagacity equally astonishing; for they will tell in the footsteps, which to us would seem most confused, the number of men that have passed; and the length of time since they have passed; they even go so far as to distinguish the several nations by the different marks of their feet, and to perceive footsteps, where we could distinguish nothing less. A mind diligently intent upon one thing, and exercised by long experience, will go lengths at first view scarcely credible. But as they who are attacked have the same knowledge, and know how to draw the same advantages from it, their great address is to baffle each other in these points. On the expedition they light no fire to warm themselves,



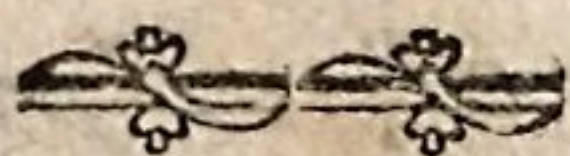
ves, or prepare their victuals, but subsist merely on the miserable pittance of some of their meal mixed with water: they lie close to the ground all day, and march only in the night. As they march in their usual order in files, he that closes the rear, generally covers his own tracks, and those of all who preceded him, with leaves. If any stream occurs in their route, they march in it for a considerable way to foil their pursuers. When they halt to rest and refresh themselves, scouts are sent out on every side to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy may lie perdue. In this manner they often enter a village, whilst the strength of the nation is employed in hunting, and massacre all the helpless old men, women and children, or make prisoners as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation.

They often cut off small parties of men in their huntings; but when they discover an army of their enemies, their way is to throw themselves flat on their faces amongst the withered leaves, the colour of which their bodies are painted to resemble exactly. They generally let a part pass unmolested; and then, rising a little, they take aim, for they are excellent marksmen; and setting up a most tremendous shout, which they call the war-cry, they pour a storm of musquet-bullets upon the enemy; for they have long since laid aside the use of arrows: the party attacked, returns the same cry. Every man in haste covers himself with a tree, and returns the fire of an adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give the second fire.



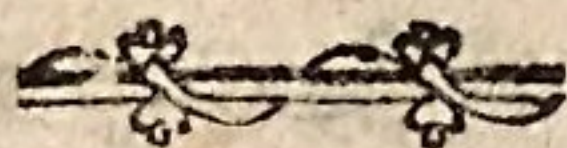
After fighting some time in this manner, the party, which thinks it has the advantage, rushes out of its cover, with small axes in their hands, which they dart with great address and dexterity; they redouble their cries, intimidating their enemies with menaces, and encouraging each other with a boastful display of their own brave actions. Thus being come hand to hand, the contest is soon decided; and the conquerors satiate their savage fury, with the most shocking insults and barbarities to the dead, biting their flesh, tearing the scalp from their heads, and wallowing in their blood like wild beasts.

The fate of their prisoners is the most severe of all. During the greatest part of their journey homewards, they suffer no injury. But when they arrive at the territories of the conquering state, or at those of their allies, the people from every village meet them, and think they shew their attachment to their friends by their barbarous treatment of the unhappy prisoners; so that when they come to their station, they are wounded and bruised in a terrible manner. The conquerors enter the town in triumph. The war-captain waits upon the head men, and in a low voice gives them a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition, of the damage the enemy has suffered, and his own losses in it. This done, the public orator relates the whole to the people. Before they yield to the joy which the victory occasions, they lament the friends which they have lost in the pursuit of it. The parties most nearly concerned, are afflicted apparently with a deep and real sorrow. But, by one of those strange turns of the human mind, fashioned to any thing by custom, as



as if they were disciplined in their grief, upon the signal for rejoicing, in a moment all tears are wiped from their eyes, and they rush into an extravagance and phrenzy of joy for their victory.

In the mean time the fate of the prisoners remains undecided, until the old men meet, and determine concerning their distribution. It is usual to offer a slave to each house that has lost a friend; giving the preference according to the greatness of the loss. The person who has taken the captive, attends him to the door of the cottage to which he is delivered, and with him gives a belt of wampum, to shew that he has fulfilled the purpose of the expedition, in supplying the loss of a citizen. They view the present which is made them for some time; and according as they think him or her, for it is the same, proper or improper for the business of the family, or as they take a capricious liking or displeasure to the countenance of the victim; or in proportion to their natural barbarity or their resentment for their losses, they destine concerning him, to receive him into the family, or sentence him to death. If the latter, they throw away the belt with indignation. Then it is no longer in the power of any one to save him. The nation is assembled as upon some great solemnity. A scaffold is raised, and the prisoner tied to the stake. Instantly he opens his death song, and prepares for the ensuing scene of cruelty with the most undaunted courage. On the other side, they prepare to put it to the utmost proof, with every torment, which the mind of man ingenious in mischief can invent. They begin at the extremities of his body, and gradually approach the trunk. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; ano-



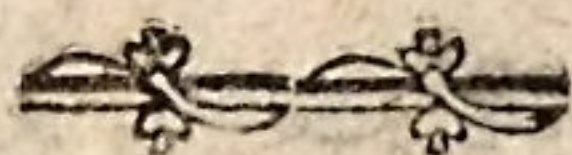
another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears off the flesh with his teeth; a third thrusts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bole of a pipe made red hot, which he smokes like tobacco. Then they pound his toes and fingers to pieces between two stones; they cut circles about his joints, and gashes in the fleshy parts of his limbs, which they sear immediately with red hot irons, cutting and searing alternately; they pull off his flesh thus mangled and roasted, bit by bit, devouring it with greediness, and smearing their faces with the blood, in an enthusiasm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the flesh, they twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them: whilst others are employed in pulling and extending the limbs themselves, in every way that can increase the torment. This continues often five or six hours together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to think what new torments they shall inflict, and to refresh the strength of the sufferer, who wearied out with such a variety of unheard of torments, often falls immediately into so profound a sleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awaken him, and renew his sufferings.

He is again fastened to the stake, and again they renew their cruelty; they stick him all over with small matches of wood that easily take fire, but burn slowly; they continually run sharp reeds into every part of his body; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thrust out his eyes; and lastly, after having burned his flesh from the bones with slow fires; after having so mangled the body that it is all but one wound; after having
mu-



mutilated his face in such a manner as to carry nothing human in it; after having peeled the skin from the head, and poured a heap of red hot coals or boiling water on the naked skull; they once more unbind the wretch, who blind and staggering with pain and weakness, assaulted and pelted upon every side with clubs and stones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every step, runs hither and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compassion or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or a dagger. The body then is put into the kettle, and this barbarous employment is succeeded by a feast as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into something worse than furies, act their parts, and even outdo the men, in this scene of horror. The principal persons of the country sit round the stake, smoking and looking on without the least emotion. What is most extraordinary, the sufferer himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes too, appears unconcerned, and converses with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed, during the whole time of his execution, there seems a contest between him and them which shall exceed, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them with a firmness and constancy almost above human. Not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of countenance, escapes him; he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments; he recounts his own exploits, he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and though his repro-

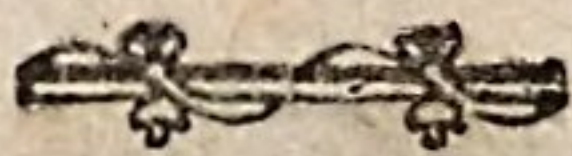


reproaches exasperate them to a perfect madness of rage and fury, he continues his reproaches even of their ignorance in the art of tormenting, pointing out himself more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men; and it is as rare for any Indian to behave otherwise, as it would be for an European to suffer as an Indian.

I do not dwell upon these circumstances of cruelty, which so degrade human nature, out of choice; but, as all who mention the customs of this people have insisted upon their behaviour in this respect very particularly, and as it seems necessary to give a true idea of their character, I did not chuse to omit it. It serves to shew too, in the strongest light, to what an inconceivable degree of barbarity the passions of men let loose will carry them. It will point out to us the advantages of a religion that teaches a compassion to our enemies, which is neither known nor practised in other religions; and it will make us more sensible than some appear to be, of the value of commerce, the arts of a civilized life, and the lights of literature; which if they have abated the force of some of the natural virtues by the luxury which attends them, have taken out likewise the sting of our natural vices, and softened the ferocity of the human race without enervating their courage.

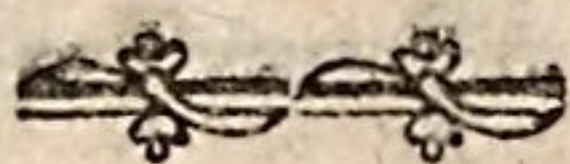
On the other hand, the constancy of the sufferers in this terrible scene shews the wonderful power of an early institution, and a ferocious thirst of glory, which makes men imitate and exceed what philosophy, or even religion can effect.

The



The prisoners, who have the happiness to please those to whom they are offered, have a fortune altogether opposite to that of those who are condemned. They are adopted into the family, they are accepted in the place of the father, son, or husband, that is lost; and they have no other mark of their captivity, but that they are not suffered to return to their own nation. To attempt this would be certain death. The principal purpose of the war is to recruit in this manner; for which reason a general, who loses many of his men, though he should conquer, is little better than disgraced at home; because the end of the war was not answered. They are therefore extremely careful of their men, and never chuse to attack but with a very undoubted superiority, either in number or situation.

The scalps, which they value so much, are the trophies of their bravery; with these they adorn their houses, which are esteemed in proportion as this sort of spoils is more numerous. They have solemn days appointed, upon which the young men gain a new name or title of honour from their head-men; and these titles are given according to the qualities of the person, and his performances; of which these scalps are the evidence. This is all the reward they receive for the dangers of the war, and the fatigues of many campaigns, severe almost beyond credit. They think it is abundantly sufficient to have a name given by their governors; men of merit themselves, and judges of it; a name respected by their countrymen, and terrible to their enemies. There are many other things fit to engage the curiosity, and even afford matter of instructive reflection,
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in the manners of this barbarous people: but these seem to be the most striking, and are sufficient to give a general idea of them.

VII.

Of the Government and Civil Policy of the AMERICANS*.

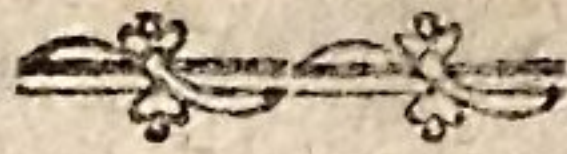
LIBERTY, in its fullest extent, is the darling passion of the Americans. To this, they sacrifice every thing. This is what makes a life of uncertainty and want supportable to them, and their education is directed in such a manner, as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. They are indulged in all manner of liberty; they are never, upon any account, chastised with blows: they are rarely even chidden. Reason, they say, will guide their children when they come to the use of it; and before that time, their faults cannot be very great: but blows might abate the free and martial spirit which makes the glory of their people, and might render the sense of honour duller, by the habit of a slavish motive to action. When they are grown up, they experience nothing like command, dependence, or subordination; even strong persuasion is industriously forborn by those who have influence amongst them, as what may look too like command, and appear a sort of violence offered to their will.

On

* An Account of the Eur. Settl. in America, vol. i.
p. 175 — 182.

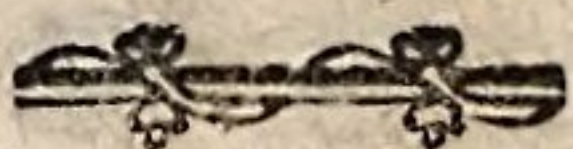


On the same principle they know no punishment but death. They lay no fines, because they have no way of exacting them from free men; and the death which they sometimes inflict, is rather a consequence of a sort of war declared against a public enemy, than an act of judicial power executed on a citizen or subject. This free disposition is general; and though some tribes are found in America with a head, whom we call a king, his power is rather persuasive than coercive, and he is revered as a father, more than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice. The other forms, which may be considered as a sort of aristocracy, have no more power. This latter is the more common in North America. In some tribes there are a kind of nobility, who, when they come to the years of discretion, are entitled to a place and vote in the councils of their nation: the rest are excluded. But amongst the five nations, or Iroquois, the most celebrated commonwealth of North America, and in some other nations, there is no other qualification absolutely necessary for their head men, but age, with experience and ability in their affairs. However, there is generally in every tribe, some particular stocks which they respect, and who are considered in some sort as their chiefs, unless they shew themselves unworthy of that rank; as among the tribes themselves there are some, who, on account of their number or bravery, have a pre-eminence over the rest; which as it is not exacted with pride and insolence, nor maintained by tyranny on one hand, so it is never disputed on the other when it is due.



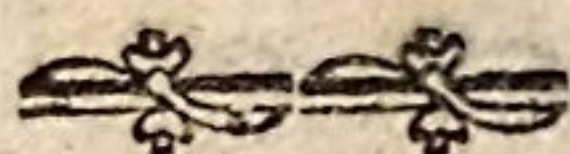
Their great council is composed of these heads of tribes and families, with such whose capacity has elevated them to the same degree of consideration. They meet in a house, which they have in each of their towns for the purpose, upon every solemn occasion, to receive ambassadors, to deliver them an answer, to sing their traditionary war songs, or to commemorate their dead. These councils are public. Here they propose all such matters concerning the state, as have already been digested in their secret councils, at which none but the head men assist. Here it is that their orators are employed, and display those talents which distinguish them for eloquence and knowledge of public business; in both of which, some of them are admirable. None else speak in their public councils; these are their ambassadors, and these are the commissioners who are appointed to treat of peace or alliance with other nations. The chief skill of these orators consists in giving an artful turn to affairs, and in expressing their thoughts in a bold figurative manner, much stronger than we could bear in this part of the world, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive.

When any business of consequence is transacted, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. There are lesser feasts upon matters of less general concern, to which none are invited but they who are engaged in that particular business. At these feasts, it is against all rule to leave any thing; so that if they cannot consume all, what remains is thrown into the fire; for they look upon fire as a thing sacred, and in all probability, these feasts were anciently

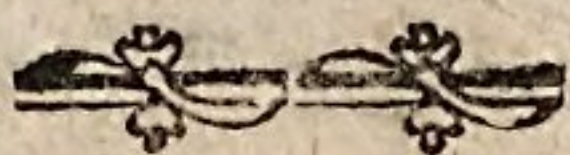


ciently sacrifices. Before the entertainment is ready, the principal person begins a song, the subject of which, is the fabulous or real history of their nation, the remarkable events which have happened, and whatever matters may make for their honour or instruction. The others sing in their turn. They have dances too, with which they accompany their songs, chiefly of martial kind; and no solemnity or public business is carried on without such songs and dances. Every thing is transacted amongst them with much ceremony, which in a barbarous people is necessary; for nothing else could hinder all their affairs from going into confusion; besides that, the ceremonies contribute to fix all transactions the better in their memory.

To help their memory, they have bits of small shells or beads of different colours, which have all a different meaning, according to their colour or arrangement. At the end of every matter they discourse upon, when they treat with a foreign state, they deliver one of these belts. If they should omit this ceremony, what they say passes for nothing. These belts are carefully treasured up in each town, and they serve for the public records of the nation; and to these they occasionally have recourse, when any contests happen between them and their neighbours. Of late, as the matter of which these belts is made, is grown scarce, they often give some skin in the place of the wampum, for so they call these beads in their language, and receive in return, presents of a more valuable nature; for neither will they consider what our commissioners say to be of any weight, unless some present accompanies each proposal.

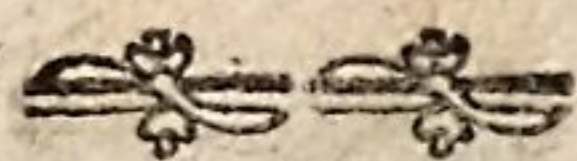


The same council of their elders which regulates whatever regards the external policy of the state, has the charge likewise of its internal peace and order. Their suits are few and quickly decided, having neither property nor art enough to render them perplexed or tedious. Criminal matters come before the same jurisdiction, when they are so flagrant as to become a national concern. In ordinary cases, the crime is either revenged or compromised by the parties concerned. If a murder is committed, the family which has lost a relation, prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer, and when this happens, the kindred of the last person slain, look upon themselves to be as much injured, and think themselves as much justified in taking vengeance, as if the violence had not begun amongst themselves. But in general, things are determined in a more amicable manner. The offender absents himself; his friends send a compliment of condolance to those of the party murdered; presents are offered, which are rarely refused; the head of the family appears, who in a formal speech delivers the presents, which consist often of above sixty articles, every one of which is given to cancel some part of the offence, and to assuage the grief of the suffering party. With the first he says: „By this I remove the hatchet from the wound, and make it fall out of the hands of him that is prepared to revenge the injury:” with the second, „I dry up the blood of that wound;” and so on, in apt figures, taking away, one by one, all the ill consequences of the murder. As usual, the whole ends in mutual feasting, songs and dances. If the murder is committed by one of the same family or cabbin, that cabbin has the full right



right of judgment without appeal, within itself, either to punish the guilty with death, or to pardon him, or to force him to give some recompense to the wife or children of the slain. All this while, the supreme authority of the nation looks on unconcerned, and never rouses its strength, nor exerts the fulness of a power more revered than felt, but upon some signal occasion. Then the power seems equal to the occasion. Every one hastens to execute the orders of their senate; nor ever was any instance of disloyalty or rebellion known amongst this people. Governed as they are by manners, not by laws; example, education, and the constant practice of their ceremonies, give them the most tender affection for their country, and inspire them with a most religious regard for their constitution and the customs of their ancestors. The want of laws and of an universal strong coercive power, is not perceived in a narrow society, where every man has his eye upon his neighbour, and where the whole bent of every thing they do is to strengthen those natural ties, by which society is principally cemented. Family love, rare amongst us, is a national virtue amongst them; of which all partake. Friendships there are amongst them, fit to vie with those of fabulous antiquity; and where such friendships are seen to grow, the families concerned congratulate themselves as upon an acquisition, that promises to them a mutual strength, and to their nation the greatest honour and advantage.





VIII.

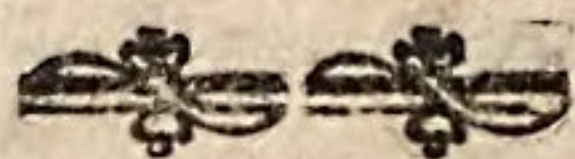
Reflexions on the Religion and Usages of the GENTOOES *.

THE Gentoos pretend, that Brumma, the founder of their religion, was a being of so exalted a nature, as to be inferior only to God himself: of infinite knowledge, and all his words were truth. From the conduct of mankind, as recorded in the histories of other countries, I incline to think, this Brumma was one of those great geniuses, which Providence, from time to time, bestows on mankind for the improvement of their happiness: such were Confucius, Zoroaster, and I might add Peter the Great, who, had he appeared in a less enlightened age, would, I doubt not, when time had cast a veil over his failings, have been as much revered among the Russians, as these men were in their respective nations. They date the existence of Brumma many thousand years beyond our account of the creation. Possibly their chronology is no better founded than that of the Chinese; yet they have undoubted claims to remote antiquity; for the earliest accounts we have of them, represent them as cultivating all the useful arts in great perfection; and to judge by their slow progress among us, this seems to be the work of ages. Perhaps these eastern countries, peopled in the infancy of the world, never degenerated into that state of barbarism in which we were so long involved; the soil and climate were propitious to mankind, and the mind was a stranger

* Luke Scrafton on the Government of Indostan, p. 1—17.

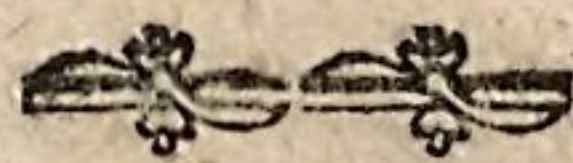


ger to the fiercer passions, which arose from the stimulating necessities of our more northern climates. The Bramins say, that Brumma, their lawgiver, left them a book, called the Vidam, which contains all his doctrines and institutions. Some say the original language in which it was wrote is lost, and that at present they only possess a comment thereon, called the Shahstah, which is wrote in the Sanscrit language, now a dead language, and known only to the Bramins who study it. In this they are taught to believe in one supreme Being, who has created a regular gradation of beings, some superior, and some inferior to man; in the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, which is to consist of a transmigration into different bodies, according to the lives they have led in their pre-existent state. This is all I know of their doctrine on these two important subjects: and this is believed by the most learned of the Bramins. But, from an opinion that sensible objects were necessary to make this intelligible to the vulgar, these doctrines have been taught in allegory: hence images were made of the supreme Being, according to the particular attribute they would express; his power, by an image with many hands and swords, his wisdom by an elephant's head, and so for the rest: and this is the principal source of all idolatry; for the explanation being lost, in process of time the images became themselves the objects of their worship; and as the knowledge of the Sanscrit language is confined to a few of the most learned Bramins, these alone possess the magic lanthorn, from which they reflect what objects they please; and though all the Gentoos of the continent, from Lahor to Cape Comorin, agree

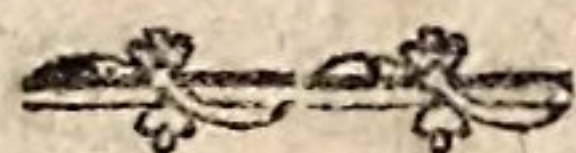


in acknowledging the Vidam, yet they have greatly varied in the corruptions of it: and hence different images are worshipped in different parts; and the first simple truth of an omnipotent Being is lost in the absurd worship of a multitude of images, which, at first, were only symbols to represent his various attributes. This is all I shall venture to say on their doctrinal points; but their customs are reckoned part of their religion, being sanctified by the supposed divine character of their legislator. If conjectures are permitted, I should suppose, that Brumma was king, as well as legislator, over all the continent of India, and that the chief points he had in view, were, to attach the people of India to their own country, and to render sacred whatever customs he thought necessary to be observed in such a climate: Hence their veneration for the three great rivers which water all the country, the Indus, the Kistnah, and the Ganges; and hence also their veneration for the cow, a creature most essentially necessary in a country where milk is the most wholesome food, and where oxen are so useful in cultivating the land. But the custom which distinguishes the Indians from the rest of mankind, is the division of natives into tribes.

The four principal tribes, are the Bramins, Soldiers, Labourers, and Mechanics. These are again subdivided into a multiplicity of inferior distinctions. There are Bramins of various degrees of excellence, who have the care of religion allotted to them. These are held sacred by the rest, they swear by their heads; they kiss their feet; and the Bramins have the entire government of their minds; and such as do not follow any worldly
pur-



pursuits, are supported by the rest, which is a great burden upon the land. It is difficult to draw a general character of the Bramins, as they vary so much in their pursuits, and in their degrees of knowledge. Some I have conversed with, acknowledge the errors that have crept into their religion, own one supreme Being, laugh at the idolatry of the multitude, but insist upon the necessity of working upon the weaknesses of the vulgar, and will admit of no doubt of the divine character of their legislator. Talk to them of the truth of the Christian religion, they say, „ They „ believe it is all very true; but that God has given different laws, and ordered different forms „ of worship for different nations, and has prescribed them theirs, which their forefathers have practised for many thousand years, and they „ have no reason to doubt its being acceptable.” For this reason they admit no converts, nor are themselves ever converted, whatever the Roman missionaries may pretend; except indeed the Hal-lachores, of whom I shall speak hereafter, who are glad to be received into a society where they are treated as fellow creatures. But I much doubt whether there ever was an instance of any other of the Indians being converted by the missionaries; and even these do no honour to the Christian religion, for as far as my observation has reached, these half Christians are the most abandoned profligate wretches of the human species. But to return to the Bramine, some few there are, who, versed in their learned languages, soar above the vulgar; but the generality are as ignorant as the laity. Such who are not engaged in worldly pursuits, are a very moral superstitious innocent people, who promote charity as much as they can to

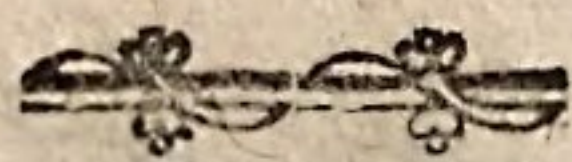


man and beast: but such who engage in the world are generally the worst of all the Gentoos; for, persuaded the waters of the Ganges will purify them from their sins, and being exempted from the utmost rigour of the courts of justice, under the Gentoo governments, they run into the greatest excesses.

The Soldiers are commonly called Rajah-poots *. These inhabit chiefly the northern provinces. And it is from hence I conjecture, that the founder of their religion was also king of the whole continent, and that he sent off this tribe to govern the rest; for in all the southern provinces, the rest of the inhabitants are quite black; and the family that govern, are a fair-complexioned people, of the colour of those of the northern provinces. These Rajah-poots are much more robust than the rest, have a great share of courage, and a nice sense of military honour, which consists, among them, in fidelity to those they serve. Fighting is their profession, and they readily enter into the service of any that will pay them, and will follow wherever he leads; but as soon as their leader falls in battle, their cause is at an end, and they run off the field without any stain to their reputation.

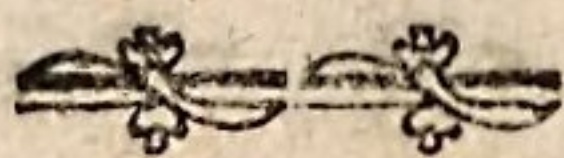
Their Labourets are next in rank. This tribe includes farmers, and all who cultivate the land. And the mechanics include merchants, bankers, and all who follow any trade. These again are subdivided into each profession. And
now

* Persons descended from Rajahs.



now I must mention the Hallachores, whom I cannot call a tribe, being rather the refuse of all the tribes. These are a set of poor unhappy wretches, destined to misery from their birth. They perform all the vilest offices of life, bury the dead, and carry away every thing that is polluted. They are held in such abomination, that on the Malabar side of India, if they chance to touch one of a superior tribe, he draws his sabre, and cuts him down on the spot, without any check, either from his own conscience, or from the laws of the country. How the legislator could let such an injustice enter into his system, I can no otherwise account for, than by his supposing a necessity of a regular gradation; and that he was obliged to sacrifice a portion of his people, to preserve the purity, or that wherein he defined purity to consist, of the rest. All the different tribes are kept distinct from each other, by insurmountable barriers. They are forbid to intermarry, to cohabit, to eat with each other, or even to drink out of the same vessel with one of another tribe; and every deviation in these points, subjects them to be rejected by their tribe, renders them for ever polluted, and they are thence-forward obliged to herd with the Hallachores.

It does not enter into my plan to give you a detail of all their religious follies and ceremonies: let it suffice, that amidst all their errors they agree in those truths which form the harmony of the universe, that there is one supreme God, and that he is best pleased by charity and good works. Their worship and ceremonies at the great temple of Jagernaut seem instituted to remind them of this; for there the Bramin, the Ra-

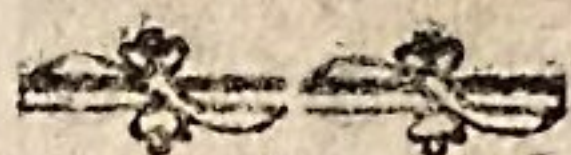


Rajah, the labourer, and mechanic, all present their offerings, and eat and drink promiscuously together, as if they would insinuate, that all those distinctions are of human invention, and that in the sight of God all men are equal. This division into tribes has had two effects on the whole nation. It has occasioned such a disunion among them, as has always made them an easy prey to every invader; for no man thinks of defending himself, unless he is of the soldier's tribe: and hence it is that the invaders, who, like Alexander, came in on the northern frontiers, inhabited mostly by Rajapoots, have always met a very brave resistance, while those who came in from the sea, of which more hereafter, have met with very little. But it is the same distinction also, which has preserved the manufactures among them, maugre all the revolutions and all the oppressions introduced by the Mahometans; for while the son can follow no other trade than that of his father, the manufactures can be lost only by exterminating the people.

Their legislator has even ordained different kinds of food to the different tribes; but whether this was founded in policy, or in a real persuasion of the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, I will not pretend to say. The Bramins touch nothing that has life; their food is milk, vegetables and fruits; and if you shew them through a microscope the insects on a leaf, invisible to the naked eye, they say it is a deceit, that the objects are in the glass, not in the leaf. The soldiers are permitted to eat venison, mutton, and fish. The labourers and mechanics are different according to their sects and professions; some are confined to milk and vegetables; others are permitted fish, but nothing further;

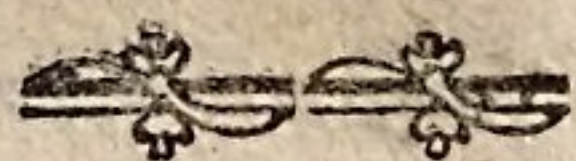


ther; the privilege of eating flesh is confined entirely to the soldiers, and in general, almost without exception, they are remarkable for a temperance that borders on abstemiousness. Another circumstance that contributes to form their general character is, their marrying when infants; and yet no women are more remarkable for their conjugal fidelity, in which they are distinguished beyond the rest of their sex, by that remarkable custom of burning with their husbands. Many authors ascribe this to have been instituted to prevent their wives poisoning them; but I am well persuaded, they often submit to it from a nice sense of honour and conjugal affection. Let it be considered, they are brought up together from their infancy; the woman has no opportunity of ever conversing with any other man; her affections are centered solely in this one object of her love; she is firmly persuaded, that by being burnt with him, she shall be happy with him in another world; that if she neglects this last token of affection, he may take another wife, and she be separated from him for ever. However false these principles, yet, if those poor women are persuaded they are true, you must allow they are powerful motives. No doubt they are likewise influenced by the disgrace of surviving him; for they are then condemned to a perpetual widowhood, and from mistresses of the family, degraded to the state of a menial servant. This affords but an unhappy prospect; whereas, their burning themselves is thought to reflect great honour to the family, and there is no doubt but the dying husband recommends it to her in his last moments. Thus their minds raised to the utmost pitch by this strange commotion of love, grief, and honour, they



they go through the terrible trial with amazing fortitude. The practice is far from common, and only complied with by those of illustrious families. Nor is it on this occasion only that the Gentoos meet death with fortitude. The men are equally ready to resign their lives to preserve their religious purity, of which we had last year a remarkable instance in three Bramins, who had their daughters forced from them by a Mahometan, beyond the reach of justice: they complained to the governor of the province, but finding no redress, they all swallowed poison, and died at the door of his tent. Also, when the forces came from Madras, by the unexpected length of the passage, they were greatly reduced for provisions, insomuch that there was no rice for the Gentoos seapoys *, and nothing to serve out to them but beef and pork; but though some did submit to this defilement, yet many preferred a languishing death by famine to life polluted beyond recovery. The Mahometan governors often take advantage of this, when they want to extort money from them; and though they will bear the severest corporal punishment, rather than discover their money; yet, when once their religious purity is threatened, they comply, if the sum is in their power; if not, and the man is beloved by his tribe, they make a subscription to raise the money. Fortitude on these occasions is common to all of them, even those who in other dangers appear of most dastardly spiritless dispositions. Such you see is the force of principle, that is has preserved its efficacy through a series of ages. And when we
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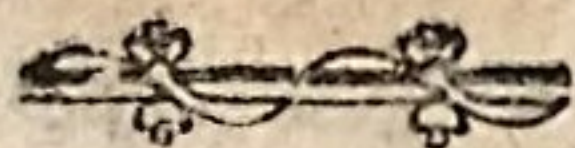
* Natives disciplined like Europeans.



consider the dreadful penalties annexed to any deviations from what their religion ordains, we shall cease to wonder at the little change that appears among the Indians, compared with the earliest accounts we have of them.

There is no forming a general character for a tract of country, extending from Cape Comorin in the latitude 6, to Lahore in 30. The whole of it is divided into little principalities, many of which being tainted with the dissolute manners of their conquerors, afford a variety of characters, differing according to the climate, the tribes and the government. But in justice to the Gentoo religion and customs, I must say, that, before the late wars between the French and us in the Carnatic country, which is chiefly divided into little Indian Rajahships, human nature in no part of the world afforded a finer scene of contemplation to a philosophic mind: every thing seemed calculated to promote agriculture and manufactures.

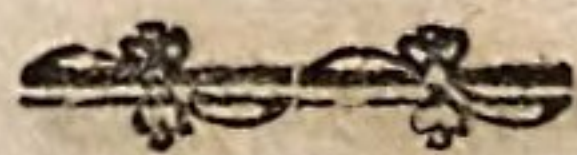
The fruitfulness of these hot countries depending entirely on their being well watered, and the rainy season being here of very short duration, the preservation of the water is a principal object: for which reason the high lands are mounded in by great banks to collect the waters that fall from the mountains; and these reservoirs are kept up by the government for the public benefit, every man paying for his portion of a drain. The roads are planted with rows of large trees, which add to the beauty of the country, and afford a pleasing and refreshing shade; and every two or three miles are stone-buildings called Choultrys, for the convenience of travellers, who always find Bra-
mins



mins attending to furnish them with water; And so free is the country from robbers, that I doubt there having been an instance of one in the memory of man. The diamond merchants, who generally pass this country, have seldom even a weapon of defence, owing to that admirable regulation, which obliges the lord of that spot where the robbery is committed, to recover the effects, or make good the value. At the extremity of every town or village are large groves of trees, where the weavers carry on their manufactures, and, if the soil will admit, there is a handsome stone reservoir, called a Tank.

In the capital of every considerable district is generally a large temple or pagoda, some of them most stupendous buildings, all of stone, the outside from top to bottom adorned with little images, representing the history of their gods, and too often their amours, full as bad as any of the ancients. These pagodas are generally built by the Rajahs, or rather by successive generations of them, for some of them appear to be the work of ages. They consist of several courts, which contain places for their idols, and apartments for their Bramins, of which there are some thousands, who have generally the revenues of a tract of country assigned them for their support.

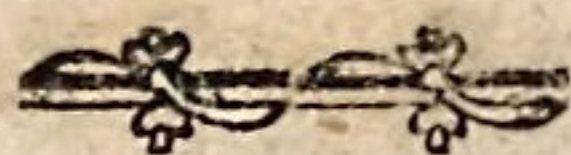
The Bramins, who in other respects have perverted the doctrine of their founder, have however strongly inculcated the virtue of charity, by teaching them how much it will contribute to their transmigration. Happily for the country, they have grafted a vanity on this virtue, which promotes and extends its good effects. It is the
height



height of their ambition to have a temple or choultry called after their name, and reflects more honour to their children, than if their parents had left them immense wealth.

What greater proof need we of the goodness of the government, than the immense revenue their country yields; many of the Gentoo provinces yield a revenue in proportion of extent of country equal to our richest countries in Europe; and yet, like us, they have no mines, but draw their wealth from the labour of their hands. Such was the Carnatic before it was ravaged by our late wars. And I have been told, that the Gentoos of the northern provinces still preserve the Gentoo purity and simplicity uncontaminated; but they indeed were never properly subdued: the successors of Tamerlane made fierce and constant war upon them, but always met with a vigorous and brave resistance, and were at last convinced it was better to have them as a kind of tributary allies than enemies. Ehbar Shah was the first who entered into a treaty with them, his example was followed by succeeding emperors; and they long proved an excellent barrier against the Afghuans and the northern Tartars: but when the emperors degenerated into lewd monsters and tyrants, they forsook their alliance, and thenceforward the empire was exposed to the invasion of the Mharattas, the Persians, and lastly of the Afghuans.

The most extensive government is that of the Mharattas, who have now almost overtuned the whole empire, of which more, when I come to speak of their government and history. I shall
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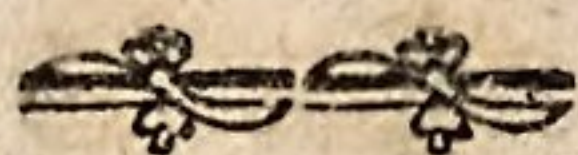


only observe here, that they have vastly deviated from the true Gentoo character. The military spirit that has prevailed among them for the two last centuries, has utterly corrupted their manners; their manufactures are totally neglected; commerce is banished; and their Rajahs have laid waste their own country by their oppression, almost as much as that of their enemies, while the generals of their army and their soldiery are grown immensely rich by the plunder of more than half of the Mogul empire. There are a number of the Rajahships interspersed through India, which by the advantageous situation of the country, have either never been subdued, or are only tributary to the Mahometans, preserving their own religion and laws: such is the Rajahship of Tanjour, the Rajah of which two years ago repulsed the veterans of France commanded by lieutenant-general Lally.

We read in ancient authors, that the Brachmans, who, I incline to think, were a set of philosophers rather than the tribe of Bramins, excelled in astronomy, and were famed all over the world for their learning. It is very possible they had just pretensions to that character; but in all these eastern countries, if any man possesses any secret of nature, he only considers how he shall make use of it to delude the ignorant multitude, and attract their veneration; and therefore the key of the Arcana is trusted to very few. For example, I was amazed to see, that the Bramins could foretel an eclipse; and yet ask them the nature of it, and they tell you an absurd story of a dragon laying hold of the sun, and they teach the people to run into the river and make
all



all the noise they can, which they persuade them will frighten the dragon away. This led me to inquire into it, and I found that they are possessed of a list of eclipses calculated for some thousand years to come. Now, whoever made this list must certainly have known the motions of the heavenly bodies, whereby it was occasioned; but it is the system of the Bramins, that the vulgar are to be governed only by taking advantage of their ignorance: therefore we are not to wonder at the excesses they run into in judicial astrology, which they carry indeed to the highest degree of folly. Their almanac, composed by the Bramins, has not only a planet or genius that presides over every day, but over every hour, every minute, and every action; nor do they enter on any new undertaking, without consulting it, and it requires a concurrence of fortunate circumstances to form a lucky minute. Some days are fit for going to the north, others to the south; some days are so entirely taken up by evil spirits, that they abstain from all manner of business; and a clap of thunder at once breaks their resolutions, let the almanac say what it will: so that between the Mahometan and Gentoo astrologers together, one half of the year is taken up in unlucky days. The head astrologer is ever present at all their councils; no new enterprise is begun without his being first consulted; and his veto is as effectual as that of a tribune in the Roman senate; the stress they lay on this really makes it of great consequence, and the general who should march an army against the opinion of the astrologer, would be as much condemned, as the Roman general who fought, though the chicken would not feed.

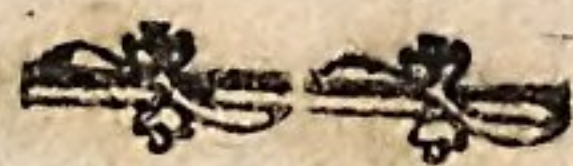


After having said so much on the customs and religion of the Gentoos, I think I may venture to say on the whole, that the Gentoos, uninfluenced by the Mahometans, are a meek, superstitious, charitable people, a character formed by their temperance, customs, and religion. They are almost strangers to many of those passions that form the pleasure and pain of our lives. Love, at least all the violent tumults of it, is unknown to the Gentoos, by their marrying so young, and by the little intercourse they have with other women; ambition is effectually restrained by their religion, which has, by insurmountable barriers, confined every individual to a limited sphere; and all those follies, arising from debauchery, are completely curbed by their abstaining from all intoxicating liquors. But from hence also, they are strangers to that vigour of mind, and all the virtues grafted on those passions which animate our more active spirits. They prefer a lazy apathy, and frequently quote this saying from some favourite book: „It is better to sit than to walk, to lie down than to sit, to sleep than to wake, and death is best of all.” Their temperance, and the enervating heat of the climate, starves all the natural passions, and leaves them only avarice, which preys most on the narrowest minds. This bias to avarice is also prompted by the oppression of the government, for power is ever jealous of the influence of riches. The Rajahs never let their subjects rise above mediocrity; and the Mahometan governors look on the growing riches of a subject as a boy does on a bird's nest; he eyes their progress with impatience, then comes with a spoiler's hand, and ravishes the fruit of their labour. To
coun-



counteract this, the Gentoos bury their money under ground, often with such secrecy as not to trust even their own children with the knowledge of it; and it is amazing what they will suffer rather than betray it: when their tyrants have tried all manner of corporal punishments on them, they threaten to defile them; but even that often fails; for resentment prevailing over the love of life, they frequently rip up their bowels, or poison themselves, and carry the secret to the grave; and the sums lost in this manner, in some measure account why the silver in India does not appear to increase, though there are such quantities continually coming into it, and none going out of it.

The Gentoos of the lower provinces are a slight made people. Rice is their chief food. It seems to afford but poor nourishment; for strong robust men are seldom seen among them. Though the people in general are healthy, yet they rarely attain to any great age, which is in some measure made up to them by an early maturity. They are married in their infancy; and consummate at fourteen on the male side, and ten or eleven on the female: and it is common to see a woman of twelve with a child in her arms. Though a barren woman is rare among them, yet they bear but few children; for at eighteen their beauty is on the decline, and at twenty-five they are strongly marked with age: the men indeed wear something better, though they also are on the decline after thirty. Thus the spring of life is but of short duration, and the organs decay before the faculties of the mind can attain to any perfection. Is nature then deficient?



Surely not. We always see the organs of the body suited to the climate; nor do I know a stronger or more active race of people than the Malays, who live mostly within six degrees of the equinoctial: we must rather look for it in that early indulgence in venereal pleasures, their excessive abstemiousness, their sedentary way of life, and, in Bengal and the conquered provinces, in the dejected state of their minds, oppressed with the tyranny of their conquerors. No wonder then, that with such customs, such bodies, and such minds, they fall an easy prey to every invader.

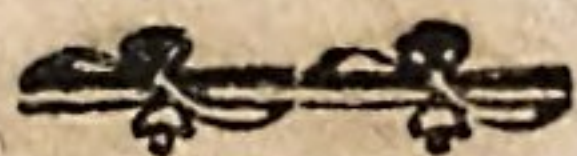
IX.

Of the Refinement of Manners in Europe from the Overthrow of the Roman Empire, till the Times of RICHARD III. of England *.

THE rise, progress, perfection, and decline of art and science, are curious objects of contemplation, and intimately connected with a narration of civil transactions. The events of no particular period can be fully accounted for, but by considering the degrees of advancement, which men have reached in those particulars.

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* Hume's Hist. of England, vol. II. p. 440.



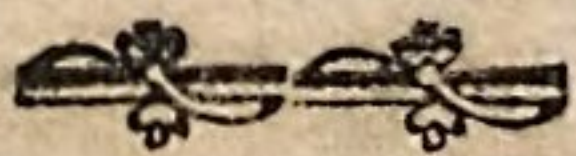
Those who cast their eye on the general revolutions of society, will find, that as all the improvements of the human mind had reached nearly to their state of perfection about the age of Augustus, there was a sensible decline from that point or period; and men thenceforth relapsed gradually into ignorance and barbarism. The unlimited extent of the Roman empire, and the consequent despotism of the monarchs, extinguished all emulation, debased the generous spirits of men, and depressed that noble flame, by which all the refined arts must be cherished and enlivened. The military government, which soon succeeded, rendered even the lives and properties of men insecure and precarious; and proved destructive to those vulgar and more necessary arts of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and in the end to the military art and genius itself, by which alone the immense fabric of the empire could be supported. The irruption of the barbarous nations, which soon followed, overwhelmed all human knowledge, which was already far in its decline; and men sunk every age deeper into ignorance, stupidity, and superstition, till the light of ancient science and history, had very nearly suffered a total extinction in all the European nations.

But there is an ultimate point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary progress, and beyond which they seldom pass either in their advancement or decline. The period in which the people of Christendom were the lowest sunk in ignorance, and consequently in disorders of every kind, may justly be fixed at the eleventh century,



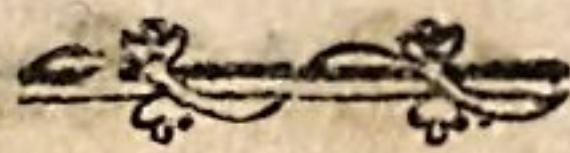
tury, about the age of William the Conqueror; and from that æra, the sun of science, beginning to re-ascend, threw out many gleams of light, which preceded the full morning, when letters were revived in the fifteenth century. The Danes and other northern people, who had so long infested all the coasts, and even the inland parts of Europe, by their depredations, having now learned the arts of tillage and agriculture, found a settled subsistence at home, and were no longer tempted to desert their industry, in order to seek a precarious livelihood by rapine and by the plunder of their neighbours. The feudal governments also, among the more southern nations, were reduced to a kind of system; and though that strange species of civil polity was ill fitted to ensure either liberty or tranquillity, it was preferable to the universal licence and disorder, which had every where preceded it. But perhaps there was no event, which tended farther to the improvement of the age, than one, which has not been much remarked, the accidental finding a copy of Justinian's Pandects, about the year 1130, in the town of Amalfi in Italy.

The ecclesiastics, who had leisure and some inclination to study, immediately adopted with zeal this excellent system of jurisprudence, and spread the knowledge of it in every part of Europe. Besides the intrinsic merit of the performance, it was recommended to them by its original connection with the imperial city of Rome, which, being the seat of their religion, seemed to acquire a new lustre and authority, by the diffusion of its laws over the western world. In less than ten years after the discovery of the pandects, Vacarius,



rius, under the protection of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, read public lectures of civil law in the university of Oxford; and the clergy every where, by their example as well as exhortation, were the means of spreading the highest esteem for this new science. That order of men, having large possessions to defend, were in a manner necessitated to turn their studies towards the law; and their properties being often endangered by the violence of the princes and barons, it became their interest to enforce the observation of general and equitable rules, from which alone they could receive protection. As they possessed all the knowledge of the age, and were alone acquainted with the habits of thinking, the practice as well as science of the law, fell mostly into their hands: and though the close connection, which without any necessity they formed between the canon and civil law, begot a jealousy in the laity of England, and prevented the Roman jurisprudence from becoming the municipal law of the country, as was the case in many states of Europe, a great part of it was secretly transferred into the practice of the courts of justice, and the imitation of their neighbours made the English gradually endeavour to raise their own law from its original state of rudeness and imperfection.

It is easy to see what advantages Europe must have reaped by its inheriting at once from the ancients, so complete an art, which was of itself so necessary for giving security to all other arts, and which by refining, and still more by bestowing solidity on the judgment, served as a model to farther improvements. The sensible utility of the Roman law both to public and private interest,



recommended the study of it, at a time when the more exalted and speculative sciences carried no charms with them; and thus the last branch of ancient literature, which remained uncorrupted, was happily the first transmitted to the modern world. For it is remarkable that in the decline of Roman learning, when the philosophers were universally infected with superstition and sophistry, and the poets and the historians with barbarism, the lawyers, who in other countries are seldom models of science or politeness, were yet able, by the constant study and close imitation of their predecessors, to maintain the same good sense in their decisions and reasonings, and the same purity in their language and expression.

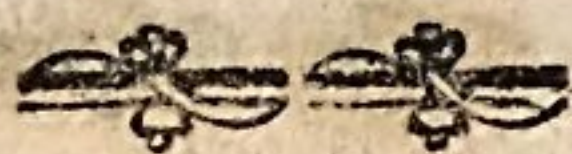
What bestowed an additional merit on the civil law, was the extreme ignorance and imperfection of that jurisprudence, which preceded it among all the European nations, especially among the Saxons or ancient English. What absurdities prevailed at that time in the administration of justice, may be conceived from the authentic monuments which remain of the ancient Saxon laws; where a pecuniary commutation was received for every crime, where stated prices were fixed for men's lives and members, where private revenges were authorized for all injuries, where the use of the ordeal, corsnet, and afterwards of the duel, was the received method of proof, and where the judges were rustic freeholders, assembled of a sudden, and deciding a cause from one debate or altercation of the parties. Such a state of society was very little advanced beyond the rude state of nature: violence universally prevailed, instead of general and equitable maxims: the pre-
tended



tended liberty of the times, was only an incapacity of submitting to government; and men, not protected by law in their lives and properties, sought shelter, by their personal servility and attachments, under some powerful chieftain, or by voluntary combinations.

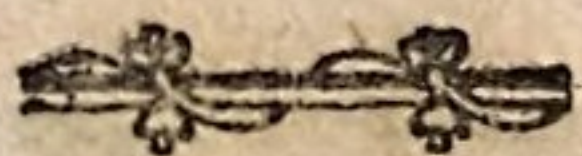
The gradual progress of improvement, raised the Europeans somewhat from this uncultivated state; and affairs in this island particularly, took very early a turn, which was more favourable to justice and to liberty. Civil employments and occupations soon became honourable among the English: the situation of that people rendered not the perpetual attention to wars so necessary as among their neighbours, and all regard was not confined to the military profession: the gentry and even the nobility, began to deem an acquaintance with the law, a requisite part of education: they were less diverted than afterwards from studies of this kind by other sciences; and in the age of Henry VI. we are told by Fortescue, there were in the inns of court about two thousand students, most of them men of honourable birth, who gave application to this branch of civil knowledge. A circumstance, which proves that a considerable advance was already made in the science of government, and which prognosticated still a greater.

One chief advantage, which resulted from the introduction and progress of the arts, was the introduction and progress of freedom; and this consequence affected men both in their personal and civil capacities.



If we consider the ancient state of Europe, we shall find, that the far greater part of the society were every where bereaved of their personal liberty, and lived entirely at the will of their masters. Every one that was not noble, was a slave; the peasants were sold along with the land: the few inhabitants of cities were not in a better condition: even the gentry themselves were subjected to a long train of subordination under the greater barons or chief vassals of the crown; who, though seemingly placed in a high state of splendor, yet having but a slender protection from the law, were exposed to every tempest of state, and by the precarious condition, in which they lived, paid dearly for the power of oppressing and tyrannizing over their inferiors. The first incident, which broke in upon this violent system of government, was the practice begun in France, of erecting communities and corporations, endowed with privileges and a separate municipal government; which gave them protection against the tyranny of the barons, and which the prince himself deemed it prudent to respect. The relaxation of the feudal tenures, and an execution somewhat stricter of the public law, bestowed an independence on vassals, which was unknown to their forefathers. And even the peasants themselves, though later than other orders of the state, made their escape from those bands of villenage or slavery, in which they had formerly been retained.

It may appear strange that the progress of the arts, which seems, among the Greeks and Romans, to have daily increased the number of slaves, should, in later times, have proved so
gene-



general a source of liberty; but this difference of the events proceeded from a great difference in the circumstances, which attended these institutions. The ancient barons, being obliged to maintain themselves continually in a military posture, and little emulous of elegance or splendor, employed not their villeins as domestic servants, much less as manufacturers, but composed their retinue of free men, whose military spirit rendered the chieftain formidable to his neighbours, who were ready to attend him in every warlike enterprize. The villeins were occupied entirely in the cultivation of the master's land, and paid their rents either in corn or cattle and other produce of the farm, or in servile offices, which they performed about the baron's family, and upon the farms which he retained in his own possession. In proportion as agriculture improved, and money increased, it was found that these services, though extremely burdensome to the villein, were of little advantage to the master; and that the produce of a large estate could be much more conveniently disposed of by the peasant himself who raised it, than by the landlord or his bailiff, who were formerly accustomed to receive it. A commutation was therefore made of rents for services, and of money rents for those in kind; and as men, in a subsequent age, discovered, that farms were better cultivated where the farmer enjoyed a security of possession, the practice of granting leases to the peasant began to prevail, which entirely broke the bonds of servitude, already much relaxed from the former practices. After this manner, villeinage went gradually into disuse throughout the more civilized parts of Europe; the interest of the master,



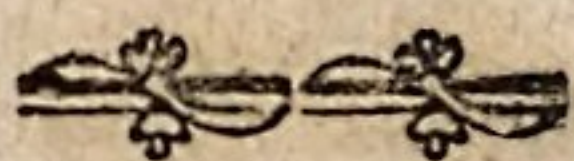
master, as well as that of the slave, concurred in this alteration. The latest laws which we find in England for the enforcing or the regulating this species of servitude, were enacted in the reign of Henry VII. And tho' the ancient statutes on this subject remain still unrepealed by parliament, it appears that, before the reign of Elizabeth, the distinction of villein and free-man was totally, though insensibly abolished, and that no person remained in the state, to whom the former laws could be applied.

Thus personal freedom became almost general in Europe; an advantage which paved the way for the increase of political or civil liberty, and which, even where it was not attended with this salutary effect, served to give the members of the community some of the most considerable advantages of it.

The constitution of the English government, ever since the invasion of the island by the Saxons, may boast of this pre-eminence, that in no age the will of the monarch was ever entirely absolute and uncontrouled: but in other respects the balance of power has extremely shifted among the several orders of the state; and this fabric has experienced the same mutability, which has attended all human institutions.

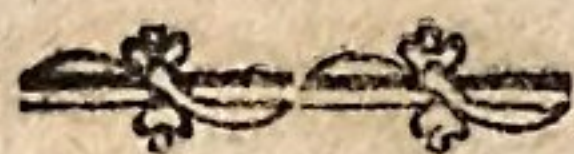
The ancient Saxons, like all the other German nations, where each individual was enured to arms, and where the independence of men was secured by a great equality of possessions, seem to have admitted a considerable mixture of democracy into their form of government, and to have

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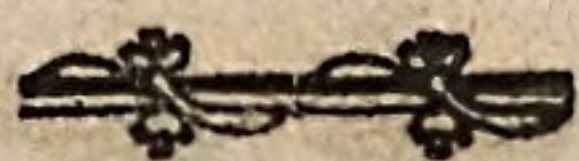


ve been one of the freest nations, of which there remains any account in the records of history. After this tribe was settled in England, especially after the dissolution of the heptarchy, the great extent of the kingdom produced a great inequality in property; and the balance seems to have inclined to the side of the aristocracy. The Norman conquest threw more authority into the hands of the sovereign, which, however, admitted of great controul; though derived less from the general forms of the constitution, which were inaccurate and irregular, than from the independent power enjoyed by each baron in his particular district or province. The establishment of the great Charter exalted still higher the aristocracy, imposed regular limits on royal power, and gradually introduced some mixture of democracy into the constitution. But even during this period, from the accession of Edward I. to the death of Richard III. the condition of the commons was nowise desirable; a kind of Polish aristocracy prevailed; and though the kings were limited, the people were as yet far from being free. It required the authority almost absolute of the sovereigns, which took place in the subsequent period, to pull down those disorderly and licentious tyrants, who were enemies to peace and to freedom, and to establish that regular execution of the laws, which, in a following age, enabled the people to erect a regular and equitable plan of liberty.

In each of these successive alterations, the only rule of government, which is intelligible or carries any authority with it, is the established practice of the age, and the maxims of administration, which are at that time prevalent, and uni-



universally assented to. Those who from a pretended respect to antiquity, appeal at every turn to an original plan of the constitution, only cover their turbulent spirit and their private ambition, under the appearance of venerable forms; and whatever period they pitch on for their model, they may still be carried back to a more ancient period, where they will find the measures of power entirely different, and where every circumstance, by reason of the greater barbarity of the times, will appear still less worthy of imitation. Above all, a civilized nation, like the English, who have happily established the most perfect and most accurate system of liberty, that ever was found compatible with government, ought to be cautious of appealing to the practice of their ancestors, or regarding the maxims of uncultivated ages as certain rules for their present conduct. An acquaintance with the history of the ancient periods of their government, is chiefly useful by instructing them to cherish their present constitution, from a comparison or contrast with the condition of those distant times. And it is also curious, by showing them the remote, and commonly faint and disfigured originals of the most finished and most noble institutions, and by instructing them in the great mixture of accident which commonly concurs with a small ingredient of wisdom and foresight, in erecting the complicated fabric of the most perfect government.

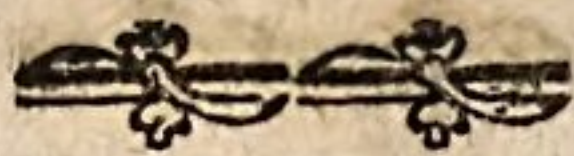


X.

An Account of the Frequency of Assassinations in the middle Ages *.

THE causes which gave rise to assassination, a practice so shocking to humanity, deserve our particular attention. Resentment is, for obvious and wise reasons, one of the strongest passions in the human mind. The natural demand of this passion is, that the person who feels the injury should himself inflict the vengeance due on that account. The permitting this, however, would have been destructive to society; and punishment would have known no bounds, either in severity or in duration. For this reason, in the very infancy of the social state, the sword was taken out of private hands, and committed to the magistrate. But at first while laws aimed at restraining, they really strengthened the principle of revenge. The earliest and most simple punishment for crimes was retaliation; the offender forfeited limb for limb, and life for life. The payment of a compensation to the person injured, succeeded to the rigour of the former institution. In both these, the gratification of private revenge was the object of law; and he who suffered the wrong, was the only person who had a right to pursue, to exact, or to remit the punishment. While laws allowed such full scope to the revenge of one party, the interests of the other were not neglected. If the evidence of his guilt did not amount

* Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 311.



amount to a full proof, or if he reckoned himself to be unjustly accused, the person to whom a crime was imputed had a right to challenge his adversary to single combat, and on obtaining the victory, vindicated his own honour. In almost every considerable cause whether civil or criminal, arms were appealed to, in defence either of the innocence, or the property of the parties. Justice had seldom occasion to use her balance; the sword alone decided every contest. The passion of revenge was nourished by all these means, and grew, by daily indulgence, to be incredibly strong. Mankind became habituated to blood, not only in time of war, but of peace; and from this as well as other causes, contracted an amazing ferocity of temper and manners. This ferocity, however, made it necessary to discourage the trial by combat; to abolish the payment of compensations in criminal cases; and to think of some milder method of terminating disputes concerning civil rights. The punishments for crimes became more severe, and the regulations concerning property more fixed; but the princes, whose province it was to inflict the one, and to enforce the other, possessed little power. Great offenders despised their authority; smaller ones sheltered themselves under the jurisdiction of those, from whose protection they expected impunity. The administration of justice was extremely feeble and dilatory. An attempt to punish the crimes of a chieftain, or even of his vassals, often excited rebellions and civil wars. To nobles, haughty and independent, among whom the causes of discord were many and unavoidable, who were quick in discerning an injury, and impatient to revenge it; who esteemed it in-
famous



famous to submit to an enemy, and cowardly to forgive him; who considered the right of punishing those who had injured them, as a privilege of their order, and a mark of independency; such slow proceedings were extremely unsatisfactory. The blood of their adversary was, in their opinion, the only thing which could wash away an affront; where that was not shed, their revenge was disappointed, their courage became suspected, and a stain was left upon their honour. That vengeance, which the impotent hand of the magistrate would not inflict, their own could easily execute; under governments so feeble men assumed, as in a state of nature, the right of judging and redressing their own wrongs. And thus assassination, a crime of all others the most destructive to society, came not only to be allowed, but to be deemed honourable.

XI.

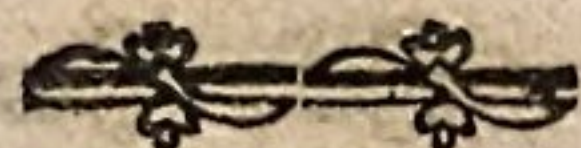
The Influence of the Progress of Science on the Manners and Characters of Men *.

THE progress of science and the cultivation of literature, had considerable effect in changing the manners of the European nations, and introducing that civility and refinement by which they are now distinguished. At the time when
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* Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. i. p. 72. — 76. 4to.

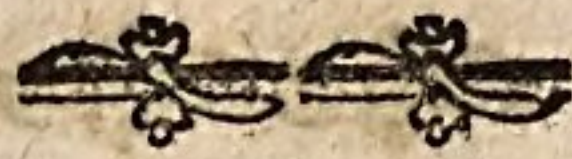


their empire was overturned, the Romans, though they had lost that correct taste which has rendered the productions of their ancestors the standards of excellence, and models for imitation to succeeding ages, still preserved their love of letters, and cultivated the arts with great ardour. But rude barbarians were so far from being struck with any admiration of these unknown accomplishments, that they despised them. They were not arrived at that state of society, in which those faculties of the human mind that have beauty and elegance for their objects, begin to unfold themselves. They were strangers to all those wants and desires which are the parents of ingenious invention; and as they did not comprehend either the merit or utility of the Roman arts, they destroyed the monuments of them, with industry not inferior to that with which their posterity have since studied to preserve, or to recover them. The convulsions occasioned by their settlement in the empire; the frequent as well as violent revolutions in every kingdom which they established; together with the interior defects in the form of government which they introduced, banished security and leisure; prevented the growth of taste or the culture of science; and kept Europe, during several centuries, in a state of ignorance. But as soon as liberty and independence began to be felt by every part of the community, and communicated some taste of the advantages arising from commerce, from public order, and from personal security, the human mind became conscious of powers which it did not formerly perceive, and fond of occupations or pursuits of which it was formerly incapable. Towards the beginning of the twelfth century, we discern the first symptoms



toms of its awakening from that lethargy in which it had long been sunk, and observe it turning with curiosity and attention towards new objects.

The first literary efforts, however, of the European nations in the middle ages, were extremely ill-directed. Among nations, as well as individuals, the powers of imagination, attain some degree of vigour before the intellectual faculties are much exercised in speculative or abstract disquisition. Men are poets before they are philosophers. They feel with sensibility, and describe with force, when they have made but little progress in investigation or reasoning. The age of Homer and of Hesiod long preceded that of Thales, or of Socrates. But unhappily for literature, our ancestors deviating from this course which nature points out, plunged at once into the depths of abstruse and metaphysical inquiry. They had been converted to the Christian faith, soon after they settled in their new conquests. But they did not receive it pure. The presumption of men had added to the simple and instructive doctrines of Christianity, the theories of a vain philosophy, that attempted to penetrate into mysteries, and to decide questions which the limited faculties of the human mind are unable to comprehend, or to resolve. These over curious speculations were incorporated with the system of religion, and came to be considered as the most essential part of it. As soon, then, as curiosity prompted men to inquiry and to reason, these were the subjects which first presented themselves and engaged their attention. The scholastic theology, with its infinite train of bold disquisitions, and subtle distinctions concerning points which



are not the object of human reason, was the first production of the spirit of inquiry after it began to resume some degree of activity and vigour in Europe.

It was not this circumstance alone that gave such a wrong turn to the minds of men, when they began again to exercise talents which they had so long neglected. Most of the persons who attempted to revive literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had received instruction, or derived their principles of science from the Greeks in the eastern empire, or from the Arabians in Spain and Africa. Both these people, acute and inquisitive to excess, corrupted those sciences which they cultivated. The former rendered theology a system of speculative refinement, or of endless controversy. The latter communicated to philosophy a spirit of metaphysical and frivolous subtlety. Misled by these guides, the persons who first applied to science were involved in a maze of intricate inquiries. Instead of allowing their fancy to take its natural range, and to produce such works of invention as might have improved their taste, and refined their sentiments; instead of cultivating those arts which embellish human life, and render it comfortable; they were fettered by authority; they were led astray by example, and wasted the whole force of their genius in speculations as unavailing, as they were difficult.

But fruitless and ill directed as these speculations were, their novelty roused, and their boldness interested the human mind. The ardour with which men pursued these uninviting studies, was



was astonishing. Genuine philosophy was never cultivated, in any enlightened age, with greater zeal. Schools upon the model of those instituted by Charlemagne, were opened in every cathedral, and almost in every monastery of note. Colleges and universities were erected, and formed into communities or corporations, governed by their own laws, and invested with separate and extensive jurisdiction over their own members. A regular course of studies was planned. Privileges of great value were conferred on masters and scholars. Academical titles and honours of various kinds were invented as a recompence for both. Nor was it in the schools alone that superiority in science led to reputation and authority; it became the object of respect in life, and advanced such as acquired it to a rank of no inconsiderable eminence. Allured by all these advantages, an incredible number of students resorted to these new seats of learning, and crowded with eagerness into that new path which was open to fame and distinction.

But how considerable soever these first efforts may appear, there was one circumstance which prevented the effects of them from being as extensive as they ought to have been. All the languages in Europe, during the period under review *, were barbarous. They were destitute of elegance, of force, and even of perspicuity. No attempt had been hitherto made to improve or to polish them. The Latin tongue was consecrated

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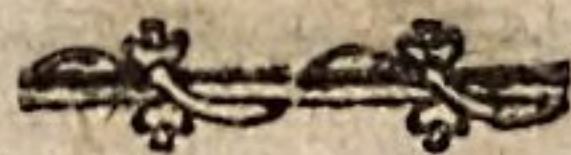
* From the subversion of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century.



crated by the church to religion. Custom, with authority scarce less sacred, had appropriated it to literature. All the sciences cultivated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were taught in Latin. All books with respect to them, were written in that language. To have treated of any important subject in a modern language, would have been deemed a degradation of it. This confined science within a very narrow circle. The learned alone were admitted into the temple of knowledge; the gate was shut against all others, who were allowed to remain involved in their former darkness and ignorance.

But though science was thus prevented during several ages, from diffusing itself through society, and its influence was circumscribed, the progress of it may be mentioned, nevertheless, among the great causes which contributed to introduce a change of manners into Europe. That ardent, though ill judged spirit of inquiry which I have described, occasioned a fermentation of mind, which put ingenuity and invention in motion, and gave them vigour. It led men to a new employment of their faculties, which they found to be agreeable as well as interesting. It accustomed them to exercises and occupations which tended to soften their manners, and to give them some relish for those gentle virtues, which are peculiar to nations among whom science hath been cultivated with success.





VIII.

A Philosophical Essay

On the faculties which chiefly render Man superior to other Animals.

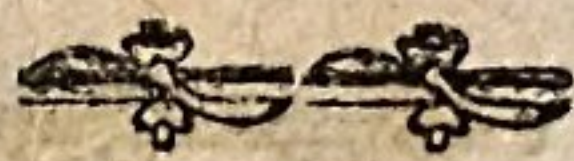
From Dr. John Gregory's Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man.

Contents.

THE faculties which chiefly render Man superior to other Animals. Reason not a blessing unless properly employed. Of Genius and a superior Understanding. Seldom employed in promoting the useful Arts. Wasted on idle Theories. This illustrated from the state of Medecine. Also from the state of Agriculture. How Science to be promoted. Bad effects of the passion for universal knowledge. Superior talents as respecting the happiness of the possessor. Unfavourable to the social affections. Other effects of that abstraction from company, which they often occasion. Bad Health. Scepticism. Solitude. Social principle, Not naturally powerful in our climate. Hence, to render love powerful and permanent here, it must be connected with friendship. The situation of women considered. The circumstances which render life agreeable, much neglected. The association of different ages and sexes, promote the common happiness of the whole.

The advantages, which Mankind possess above the rest of the Animal Creation, are principally

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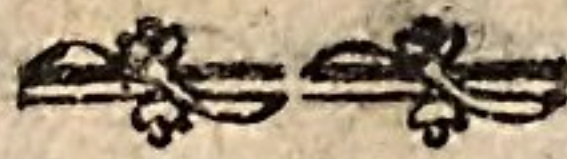
cipally derived from Reason, from the Social Principle, from Taste, and from Religion. We shall proceed to enquire how much each of these contribute to make life more happy and comfortable.

Reason, of itself, cannot, any more than riches, be reckoned an immediate blessing to Mankind. It is only the proper application of it, to render them more happy, that can entitle it to that name. Nature has furnished us with a variety of internal Senses and Tastes, unknown to other Animals. And these, if properly cultivated, are sources of pleasure, but without culture, most of them are so faint and languid, that they convey no gratification to the Mind. This culture is the peculiar province of Reason. It belongs to reason to analyze our Tastes and Pleasures, and, after a proper arrangement of them according to their different degrees of excellence, to assign to each that degree of cultivation and indulgence which its rank deserves, and no more. But if Reason, instead of thus doing justice to the various gifts of Providence, be unattentive to her charge, or bestow her whole attention on One, neglecting the rest, and if, in consequence of this, little happiness be enjoyed in life, in such a case Reason can with no great propriety be called a blessing. Let us then examine its effects among those who possess it in the most eminent degree.

The natural advantages of Genius, and a superior Understanding, are extremely obvious. One unacquainted with the real state of human affairs, would never doubt of their securing to
their



their possessors the most honourable and important stations among mankind, nor suspect that they could ever fail to place them at the head of all the useful arts and professions. If he were told this was not the case, he would conclude it must be owing to the folly or wickedness of Mankind, or to some unhappy concurrence of accidents, that such Men were deprived of their natural stations and rank in life. But in fact it is owing to none of these causes. A superior degree of Reason and Understanding does not usually form a Man either for being a more useful member of society, or more happy in himself. These talents are usually dissipated in such a way, as renders them of little account, either to the public or to the possessor. — This waste of Genius exhibits a most astonishing and melancholy prospect. A large library gives a full view of it. Among the multitude of books of which it is composed, how few engage any one's attention? Such as are addressed to the heart and imagination, such as paint life and manners in just colours and interesting situations, and the very few that give genuine descriptions of Nature in any of her forms, or of the useful and elegant arts, are read and admired. But the far more numerous volumes, productions of the intellectual powers, profound systems and disquisitions of philosophy and theology, are neglected and despised, and remain only as monuments of the pride, ingenuity, and impotency of Human Understanding. Yet many of the inventors of these systems discover the greatest acuteness and depth of Genius; half of which, exerted on any of the useful or elegant arts of life, would have rendered their names immortal. — But it has ever been the mis-



misfortune of philosophical Genius to grasp at objects which Providence has placed beyond its reach, and to ascend to general principles and to build systems, without that previous large collection and proper arrangement of facts, which alone can give them a solid foundation. — Notwithstanding this was pointed out by Lord Bacon, in the fullest and clearest manner, yet no attempts have been made to cultivate any one branch of useful philosophy upon his excellent plan, except by Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Boyle, and a very few others. — Genius is naturally impatient of restraint, keen and impetuous in its pursuits; it delights therefore in building with materials which the Mind contains within itself, or such as the Imagination can create at pleasure. But the materials, requisite for the improvement of any useful art or science, must all be collected from without, by such slow and patient observation, as little suits the vivacity of Genius, and generally requires more bodily activity, than is usually found among Philosophers.

Almost the only pure productions of the Understanding, that have continued to command respect, are those of Abstract Mathematicks. These will always be valuable, independent of their application to the useful arts. The exercise they give the invention, and the agreeable surprise they excite in the Mind, by exhibiting unexpected relations of figures and quantity, are of themselves natural sources of pleasure. This is the only science, the principles of which the philosopher carries in his own Mind; infallible principles to which he can safely trust.

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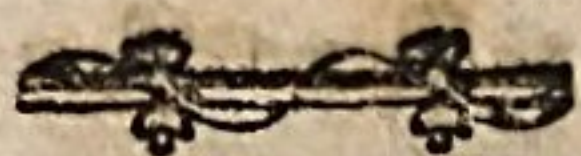
Tho' Men of Genius cannot bear the fetters of method and system, yet they are the only proper people to plan them out. The Genius to lead and direct in philosophy is distinct from, and almost incompatible with the Genius to execute. Lord Bacon was a remarkable instance of this. He brought the Systematic Method of the Schoolmen, which was founded on Metaphysical and often Nominal Subtilties, into deserved contempt, and laid down a method of investigation founded on the justest and most enlarged views of Nature, but which neither himself nor succeeding philosophers have had patience to put in strict execution.

For the reasons above mentioned, it will be found that scarcely any of the useful arts of life owe their improvements to philosophers. They have been principally obliged to accidental discoveries, or to the happy natural sagacity of Men, who exercised those arts in private, and who were unacquainted with and undebauched by philosophy. — This has in a particular manner been the fate of Medicine, the most useful of all those arts. If by Medicine be meant the art of preserving health, and restoring it when lost, any Man of sense and candor, who has been regularly bred to it, will own that his time has been mostly taken up with enquiries into branches of learning, which upon trial he finds utterly unprofitable to the main ends of his profession, or wasted in reading useless theories and voluminous explanations and commentaries on these theories; and will ingenuously acknowledge, that every thing useful, which he ever learned from books in the course of many years study, might be taught



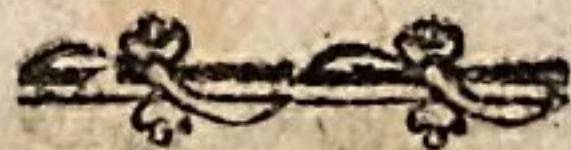
taught to any Man of common sense and attention in almost as many months, and that a few years experience is worth all his library. — Medicine in reality owes more to that illiterate enthusiast, Paracelsus, for introducing some of the most useful remedies, than to any physician who has wrote since the days of Hippocrates, if we except Dr. Sydenham; who owes his reputation entirely to a great natural sagacity in making observations, and to a still more uncommon candor in relating them. What little medical philosophy he had, which was as good as his time afforded, served only to warp his Genius, and render his writings more perplexed and tiresome.

But what shews in the strongest light at what an awful distance philosophers have usually kept from enquiries of general utility to mankind, is, that Agriculture, as a science, is yet only in its infancy. — A mathematician or philosopher, if he happens to possess a farm, does not understand the construction of his cart or plough so well as the fellow who drives them, nor is he so well acquainted with the method of cultivating his ground to the greatest advantage. We have indeed many Systems of Agriculture, that is, we have large compilations of general maxims and principles, along with a profusion of what is called philosophical reasoning on the subject. But the capital deficiency in Husbandry is, a copious Collection of particular Observations and Experiments, fully and clearly narrated, well attested, and properly arranged. These alone can give any authority to general Maxims. Without these we ought to distrust all such Maxims, as we know many of them are founded on facts, either total-



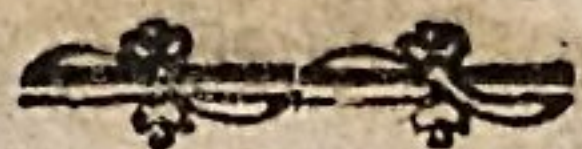
totally false or very imperfectly narrated, and that others are established on very erroneous reasoning from facts that are indeed unquestionable.

It is with pleasure, however, that we observe the Genius of a more enlarged philosophy arising, a philosophy subservient to life and public utility. Since knowledge has come to be more generally diffused, that spirit of free enquiry, which formerly employed itself in theology and politics, begins now to pierce into other sciences. The authority of antiquity and great names, in subjects of opinion, is less regarded. Men begin to be weary of theories which lead to no useful consequences, and have no foundation but in the imagination of ingenious Men. The load of learned rubbish, under which science has lain so long concealed, partly for the meanest and vilest purposes, begins to be taken off; and there seems to be a general disposition in Mankind to expose to their deserved contempt those quackish and unworthy arts, which have so often disgraced literature and gentlemen of a liberal profession. The true and only method of promoting science, is to communicate it with clearness and precision, and in a language as much divested of technical terms as the nature of the subject will admit. What renders this particularly necessary is, that speculative Men, who have a Genius for arrangement, and for planning useful enquiries, are very often, for reasons before given, deficient in the executive part. The principles therefore of every science should be explained by them with all possible perspicuity, in order to render them more generally understood, and to make their application to the useful arts
more



more easy. We have a striking instance of the good effects of this, in Chymistry. This science lay for many ages involved in the deepest obscurity, concealed under a jargon intelligible to none but a few adepts, and, by a strange association, frequently interwoven with the wildest religious enthusiasm. Boerhave had the very high merit of rescuing it from this obscurity, and of explaining it in a language intelligible to every man of common sense. Since that time, Chymistry has made very quick advances. The French philosophers, in particular, have deserved well of Mankind for their endeavours to render this science, as well as every branch of natural philosophy, subservient to the useful and elegant arts; and have the additional merit of communicating their knowledge in the easiest and most agreeable manner. Mr. Buffon has not only given us the best natural history, but, by the beauty of his composition and elegance of his style, has rendered a subject, which, in most hands, has proved a very dry one, both pleasing and interesting.

The same liberal and manly spirit of enquiry which has discovered itself in other branches of knowledge, begins to find its way into Medicine. Greater attention is now given to experiment and observation; the insufficiency of any idle theory is more quickly detected, and the pedantry of the profession meets with its deserved ridicule. We cannot avoid mentioning here, for the honour of our own country, that Pharmacy has been lately rescued from a state that was a scandal to Physic and common sense, and is now brought into a judicious, concise, and tolerable



tolerably elegant system. Even Agriculture, the most natural, the most useful, and, among the most honourable because most independent employments, which many years ago began to engage the attention of gentlemen, is now thought a subject not unworthy the attention of philosophers. Mr. du Hamel, who is the Dr. Hales of France, has set a noble example in this way, as he does in promoting every other branch of knowledge connected with public utility. *.

Nothing contributes more to deprive the world of the fruits of great parts, than the passion for universal knowledge, so constantly annexed to those who possess them. By means of this, the flame of Genius is wasted in the endless labour of accumulating promiscuous or useless facts, while it might have enlightened the most useful arts by concentrating its force upon a single object. This dissipation of Genius is most effectually checked by the honest love of fame, which prompts a Man to appear in the world as an author. This necessarily circumscribes his excursions, and determines the force of his Genius to one point. This likewise rescues him from
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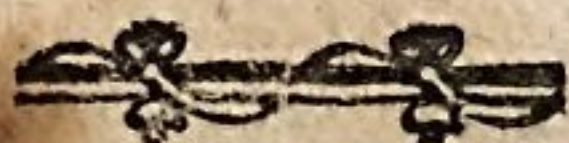
* His Example has been followed by some others in his own Country and in Switzerland; but in Britain the genuine Spirit of Experimental Agriculture begins to diffuse itself with a zeal and rapidity that promises soon to establish this Science on the most solid foundation: the public lies under particular obligations, on this subject, to the spirit, ingenuity, and industry of Mr. Young.



that usual abuse and prostitution of fine parts, the wasting of the greatest part of his time in reading, which is really the effect of laziness. Here the Mind, being in a great measure passive, becomes surfeited with knowledge which it never digests: the memory is burdened with a load of nonsense and impertinence, while the powers of Genius and Invention languish for want of exercise.

Having observed of how little consequence a great Understanding generally is to the public, let us next consider the effects it has in promoting the happiness of the individual. — It is very evident that those who devote most of their time to the exercises of the Understanding, are far from being the happiest Men. They enjoy indeed the pleasure arising from the pursuit and discovery of Truth. Perhaps too the vanity arising from a consciousness of superior talents adds not a little to their happiness. But there are many natural sources of pleasure from which they are in a great measure cut off. — All the public and social affections, in common with every Taste natural to the Human Mind, if they are not properly exercised, grow languid. People who devote most of their time to the cultivation of their Understandings, must of course live retired and abstracted from the world. The social affections (those inexhaustible sources of happiness) have therefore no play, and consequently lose their natural warmth and vigour. The private and selfish affections however are not proportionably reduced. Envy and Jealousy, the most ungenerous and most tormenting of all passions, prevail remarkably among this rank of Men.

Hence



Hence perhaps there is less friendship among learned Men, and especially among Authors, than in any other class of Mankind. People of independent fortunes, who have no views of interest or ambition to gratify, naturally connect themselves with such as resemble them in their tastes and sentiments, and as their pursuits do not interfere, their friendships may be sincere and lasting. In those professions likewise where Interest is considered as the immediate object, we often find Men very cordially attached to one another, if the field be large enough to admit them all. But in the pursuits of Fame and Vanity, the case is very different. There is a jealousy here that admits no rival, that makes people consider whatever is given to others as taken away from themselves. Hence the expressive silence, or the cold, extorted, measured approbation, given by rival authors to those works of Genius, which more impartial and disinterested Judges receive with the warmest and most unreserved applause. Such a generosity, such a greatness of Soul, as render one superior to so mean a jealousy, are perhaps the rarest Virtues to be found among Mankind.

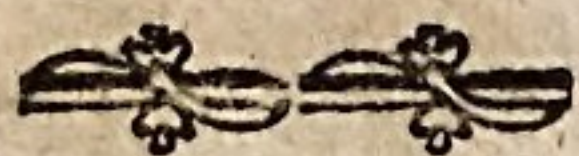
This state of war among Men of Genius and Learning, not only prevents each of them in some measure from receiving that portion of Fame to which he is justly entitled, but is one of the principal causes which exclude them from that influence and ascendancy in the different professions and affairs of life, which their superior talents would otherwise readily procure them. Dull people, though they do not comprehend Men of Genius, are afraid of them, and naturally unite

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against

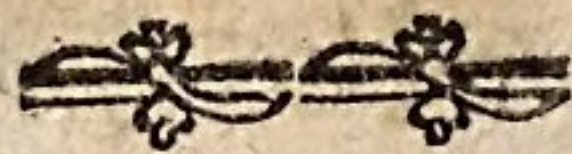


against them, and the mutual jealousies and dissensions among such Men, give the dunces all the advantages they could wish for. As the social affections become languid, among those who devote their whole time to speculative science, because they are not exercised, the public affections, the love of liberty and of a native country, become feeble for the same reason. There are perhaps no Men who embrace sentiments of patriotism and public liberty with so much ardor, as those who are just entering upon the world, and who have got a very liberal and classical education. Youth indeed is the season when every generous and elevated sentiment most easily finds its way to the heart: at this happy period, that high spirit of independence, that zeal for the public, which animated the Greek and Roman people, communicate themselves to the soul with a peculiar warmth and enthusiasm. But this fervor too soon subsides. If young men engage in public and active life, every manly and disinterested purpose is in danger of being lost, amidst the universal dissipation and corruption of manners, that surround them; a depravity of manners now become so enormous, that any pretension to public Virtue is considered either as hypocrisy or folly. If, on the other hand, they devote themselves to a speculative, sedentary life, abstracted from Society, all the active Virtues and active Powers of the Mind are still more certainly extinguished. A capacity for vigorous and steady exertions can only be preserved by regular habits of Activity. Love of a Country and of a Public cannot subsist among Men, who neither know nor love the individuals which compose that Public. If a Man has a family and friends, these



these give him an interest in the Community, and attach him to it; because their honour and happiness, which he regards as much as his own, are essentially connected with its welfare. But if he is a single, solitary Being, unconnected with family or friends, there is little to attach him to one country in preference to another. If any encroachment is threatened against his personal liberty or property, he may think it more eligible to convey himself to another country, where he can live unmolested, than to struggle, at the risk of his life and fortune, against such encroachments at home. Besides, we generally find retired speculative Men, who value themselves on their literary accomplishments, very much out of humour with the world, if it has not rewarded them according to their own sense of their importance, which it is seldom possible to do. Swollen with pride and envy, they range all mankind into two classes, the Knaves and the Fools. But how can we suppose one should love a Country or a Community consisting of such worthless Members?

When abstraction from company is carried far, it occasions gross ignorance of life and manners, and necessarily deprives a Man of all those little accomplishments and graces which are essential to polished and elegant society, and which can only be acquired by mixing with the world. The want of these is often an insuperable bar to the advancement of persons of real merit, and proves therefore, a frequent source of their disgust at the World, and consequently at themselves; for no Man can be happy in himself, who thinks ill of every one around him.



The general complaint of the neglect of merit does not seem to be well founded. It is unreasonable for any Man, who lives detached from society, to complain that his merit is neglected, when he never has made it known. The natural reward of mere Genius, is the esteem of those who know and are judges of it. This reward is never withheld. There is a like unreasonable complaint, that little regard is commonly paid to good qualities of the heart. But it should be considered, that the world cannot see into the heart, and can therefore only judge of its goodness by visible effects. There is a natural and proper expression of good affections, which ought always to accompany them, and in which true politeness principally consists. This expression may be counterfeited, and so may obtain the reward due to genuine virtue; but where this natural index of a worthy character is wanting, or where there is even an outward expression of bad dispositions, the world cannot be blamed for judging from such appearances.

Bad health is another common attendant on great parts, when these parts are exerted, as is usually the case, rather in a speculative than active life. — It is observed that great quickness and vivacity of Genius is commonly attended with a remarkable delicacy of constitution, and a peculiar sensibility of the nervous system, and that those, who possess it, seldom arrive at old age. A sedentary, studious life greatly increases this natural weakness of constitution, and brings on that train of nervous complaints and low spirits, which render life a burden to the possessor and useless to the public. Nothing can
so



so effectually prevent this as activity, regular exercise, and frequent relaxations of the Mind from those keen pursuits it is usually engaged in. — Too assiduous an exertion of the Mind on any particular subject, not only ruins the health, but impairs the Genius itself; whereas, if the Mind be frequently unbent by amusements, it always returns to its favourite object with double vigour.

But one of the principal misfortunes of a great Understanding, when exerted in a speculative rather than in an active sphere, is its tendency to lead the Mind into too deep a sense of its own weakness and limited capacity. It looks into Nature with too piercing an eye, discovers every where difficulties imperceptible to a common Understanding, and finds its progress stopt by obstacles that appear insurmountable. This naturally produces a gloomy and forlorn Scepticism, which poisons the cheerfulness of the temper, and, by the hopeless prospect it gives of improvement, becomes the bane of science and activity. This Sceptical Spirit, when carried into life, renders even Men of the best Understanding unfit for business. When they examine with the greatest accuracy all the possible consequences of a step they are ready to make in life, they discover so many difficulties and chances against them, whichever way they turn, that they become slow and fluctuating in their resolutions, and undetermined in their conduct. But as the business of life is in reality only a conjectural art, in which there is no guarding against all possible contingences, a Man that would be useful to the public or to himself, must be at once decisive in his resolutions,



tions , and steady and fearless in carrying them into execution.

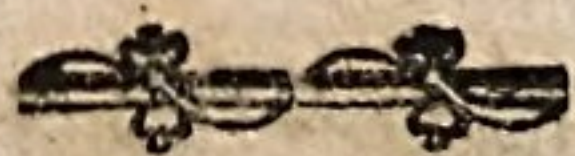
We shall mention, in the last place, among the inconveniences attendant on superior parts, that solitude in which they place a person on whom they are bestowed, even in the midst of society.

Condemned in Business or in Arts to drudge,
Without a Second and without a Judge.

POPE.

To the few, who are judges of his abilities, he is an object of jealousy and envy. The bulk of Mankind consider him with that awe and distant regard that is incompatible with confidence and friendship. They will never unbosom themselves to one they are afraid of, nor lay open their weaknesses to one they think has none of his own. For this reason we commonly find that even Men of Genius have the greatest real affection and friendship for such as are very much their inferiors in point of Understanding; good-natured, unobtrusive people, with whom they can indulge all their peculiarities and weaknesses without reserve. Men of great abilities therefore, who prefer the sweets of social life and private friendship to the vanity of being admired, ought carefully to conceal their superiority, and bring themselves down to the level of those they converse with. Nor must this seem to be the effect of a designed condescension; for that is peculiarly mortifying to human pride.

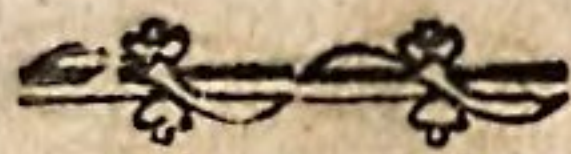
Thus



Thus we have endeavoured to point out the effects which the faculty of Reason, that boasted characteristic and privilege of the Human Species, produces among those who possess it in the most eminent degree: and, from the little influence it seems to have in promoting either public or private good, we are almost tempted to suspect, that Providence deprives us of those fruits we naturally expect from it, in order to preserve a certain ballance and equality among Mankind. — Certain it is that Virtue, Genius, Beauty, Wealth, Power, and every natural advantage one can be possessed of, are usually mixed with some alloy, which disappoints the fond hope of their raising the possessor to any uncommon degree of eminence, and even in some measure brings him down to the common level of his Species.

The next distinguishing principle of Mankind, which was mentioned, is that which unites them into societies, and attaches them to one another by sympathy and affection. This principle is the source of the most heart-felt pleasure which we ever taste.

It does not appear to have any natural connection with the Understanding. — It was before observed that persons of the best Understanding possessed it frequently in a very inferior degree to the rest of Mankind; but it was at the same time mentioned that this did not proceed from less natural sensibility of heart, but from the Social Principle languishing for want of proper exercise. By its being more exercised among the idle and the dissipated, persons of this character

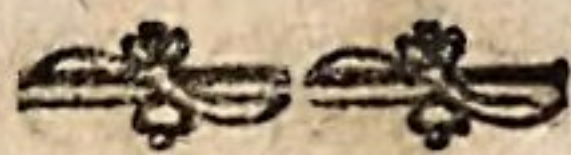


rafter sometimes derive more pleasure from it; for not only their pleasures but their vices are often of the social kind; and hence the Social Principle is warm and vigorous among them. Even drinking, if not carried to excess, is found favourable to this principle, especially in our northern climates, where the affections are naturally cold; as it produces an artificial warmth of temper, opens and enlarges the heart, and dispels the reserve, natural perhaps to wise Men, but inconsistent with connections of sympathy and affection.

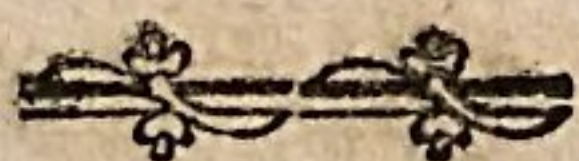
All those warm and elevated descriptions of friendship, which so powerfully charm the Minds of young people, and represent it as the height of human felicity, are really romantic among us. When we look round us into life, we meet with nothing corresponding to them, except among an happy few in the sequestered scenes of life, far removed from the pursuits of interest or ambition. These sentiments of friendship are original and genuine productions of warmer and happier climes, and adopted by us merely out of vanity. — The same observation may be applied to the more delicate and interesting attachment between the sexes. — Many of our sex, who, because possessed of some learning, assume the tone of superior wisdom, treat this attachment with great ridicule, as a weakness below the dignity of a Man, and allow no kind of it but what we have in common with the whole Animal Creation. They acknowledge, that the fair sex are useful to us, and a very few will deign to consider some of them as reasonable and agreeable companions. — But it may be questioned, whether



ther this is not the language of an heart insensible to the most refined and exquisite pleasure Human Nature is capable of enjoying, or the language of disappointed Pride, rather than of Wisdom and Nature. No Man ever despised the sex who was a favourite with them, nor did any one ever speak contemptuously of love, who was conscious of loving and being beloved by a Woman of merit. The attachment between the sexes is a natural principle, which forms in an eminent degree the happiness of Human Life in every part of the world. As the power of beauty in the Eastern countries is extremely absolute, no other accomplishments are thought necessary to the Women, but such as are merely personal. They are cut off therefore, by the most cruel exertion of Power, from all opportunities of improvement, and pass their lives in a lonely and ignominious confinement; excluded from all free intercourse with human society. The case is very different in this climate, where the power of Beauty is very limited. Love with us is but a feeble passion, and generally yields easily to interest, ambition, or even to vanity, that passion of a little mind and a cold heart; as luxury therefore advances among us, love must be extinguished among people of better rank altogether. To give it any force or permanency, we must connect it with sentiment and esteem. But it is not in our power to do this, if we treat Women as we do Children. If we impress their minds with a belief that they were only made to be domestic drudges, and the slaves of our pleasures, we debase their minds, and destroy all generous emulation to excel; whereas, if we use them in a more liberal and generous manner; a decent pride,



pride, a conscious dignity, and a sense of their own worth, will naturally induce them to exert themselves to be what they would wish to be thought, and are entitled to be, our companions and friends. This however they can never accomplish by leaving their own natural characters and assuming ours. As the two sexes have very different parts to act in life, Nature has marked their characters very differently; in a way that best qualifies them to fulfil their respective duties in society. Nature intended us to protect the Women, to provide for them and their families. Our business is without doors. All the rougher and more laborious parts in the great scene of human affairs fall to our share. In the course of these, we have occasion for our greater bodily strength, greater personal courage, and more enlarged powers of Understanding. The greatest glory of Women lies in private and domestic life, as friends, wives, and mothers. It belongs to them, to regulate the whole œconomy of the family. But a much more important charge is committed to them. The education of the youth of both sexes principally devolves upon the Women, not only in their infancy, but during that period, in which the constitution both of body and mind, the temper and dispositions of the heart, are in a great measure formed. They are designed to soften our hearts and polish our manners. The form of power and authority, to direct the affairs of public societies and private families, remains indeed with us. But they have a natural defence against the abuse of this power, by that soft and insinuating address, which enables them to controul it, and often to transfer it to themselves.



In this view, the part which Women have to act in life, is important and respectable; and Nature has given them all the necessary requisites to perform it. They possess, in a degree greatly beyond us, sensibility of heart, sweetness of temper, and gentleness of manners. They are more chearful and joyous. They have a quicker discernment of characters. They have a more lively fancy, and a greater delicacy of taste and sentiment; they are better judges of grace, elegance, and propriety, and therefore are our superiors in such works of taste as depend on these. If we do not consider Women in this honourable point of view, we must forego in a great measure the pleasure arising from an intercourse between the sexes, and, together with this, the joys and endearments of domestic life. Besides, in point of sound policy, we should either improve the Women or abridge their power; if we give them an important trust, we should qualify them for the proper discharge of it; if we give them liberty, we should guard against their abuse of it; and not trust so entirely as many of us do to their insensibility or to their religion. A Woman of a generous spirit, if she is treated as a friend and an equal, will feel and gratefully return the obligation; and a Man of a noble mind will be infinitely more gratified with the attachment of a Woman of merit, than with the obedience of a dependant and a slave.

If we enquire into the other pleasures we enjoy as Social Beings, we shall find many delicacies and refinements admired by some, which others, who never felt them, treat as visionary and romantic. It is no difficult matter to account
for



for this. There is certainly an original difference in the constitutions both of Men and of Nations; but this is not so great as at first view it seems to be. Human Nature consists of the same principles every where. In some people one principle is naturally stronger than it is in others, but exercise and proper culture will do much to supply the deficiency. The inhabitants of cold climates, having less natural warmth and sensibility of heart, enter but very faintly into those refinements of the Social Principle, in which Men of a different temper delight. But if such refinements are capable of affording to the Mind innocent and substantial pleasure, it should be the business of philosophy to search into the proper methods of cultivating and improving them. This study, which makes a considerable part of the philosophy of life and manners, has been surprisingly neglected in Great Britain. Whence is it that the English, with great natural Genius and Acuteness, and still greater Goodness of heart, blessed with riches and liberty, are rather a melancholy and unhappy people? Why is their neighbouring nation, whom they despise for their shallowness and levity, yet awkwardly imitate in their most frivolous accomplishments, happy in poverty and slavery? We are obliged to own the one possesses a native chearfulness and vivacity, beyond any other people upon earth; but still much is owing to their cultivating with the greatest care all the arts which enliven and captivate the imagination, soften the heart, and give society its highest polish. In Britain we generally find Men of sense and learning speaking in a contemptuous manner of all writings addressed to the imagination and the heart, even of such as
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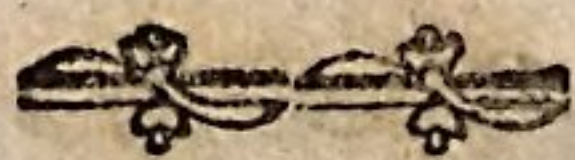
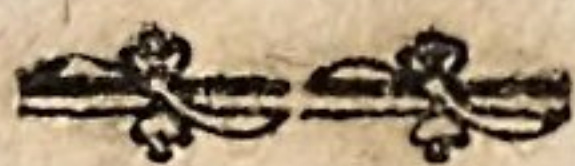


exhibit genuine pictures of life and manners. But besides the additional vigour, which these give to the powers of the imagination, and the influence they have in rendering the affections warmer and more lively, they are frequently of the greatest service in communicating a knowledge of the world: a knowledge the most important of all others, to one who is to live in it, and who would wish to act his part with propriety and dignity. Moral painting is undoubtedly the highest and most useful species of painting. The execution may be, and generally is, very wretched, and such as has the worst effects, in misleading the judgment and debauching the heart: but, if this kind of writing continues to come into the hands of Men of Genius and Worth, little room will be left for this complaint.

There is a remarkable difference between the English and French in their taste of social life. The gentlemen in France, in all periods of life, and even in the most advanced age, never associate with one another, but spend all the hours they can spare from business or study with the ladies; with the young, the gay, and the happy. — It is observed that the people of this rank in France live longer, and, what is of much greater consequence, live more happily, and enjoy their faculties of Body and Mind more entire, in old-age, than any people in Europe. In Great Britain we have certain notions of propriety and decorum, which lead us to think the French manner of spending their hours of relaxation from business extremely ridiculous. But if we examine with due attention into these sentiments of propriety, we shall not perhaps find them to be

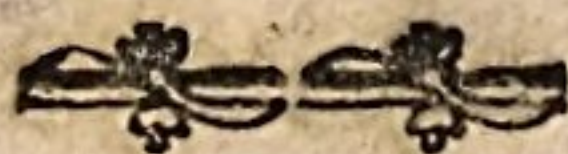


be built on a very solid foundation. We believe that it is proper for persons of the same age, of the same sex, of similar dispositions and pursuits, to associate together. But here we seem to be deceived by words. If we consult nature and common sense, we shall find that the true propriety and harmony of social life consists in the association of people of different dispositions and characters, judiciously blended together. Nature has made no individual, nor any class of people, independent of the rest of their species, or sufficient for their own happiness. Each sex, each character, each period of life, have their several advantages and disadvantages; and that union is the happiest and most proper, where wants are mutually supplied. The fair sex should naturally expect to gain, from our conversation, knowledge, wisdom, and sedateness; and they should give us in exchange, humanity, politeness, cheerfulness, taste, and sentiment. The levity, the rashness, and the folly of early life, is tempered with the gravity, the caution, and the wisdom of age; while the timidity, coldness of heart, and languor, incident to declining years, are supported and assisted by the courage, the warmth, and the vivacity of youth.

Old people would find great advantage in associating rather with the young than with those of their own age. — Many causes contribute to destroy cheerfulness in the decline of life, besides the natural decay of youthful vivacity. The few surviving friends and companions are then dropping off apace; the gay prospects, that swelled the imagination in more early and more happy days, are then vanished, and, together
with



them, the open, generous, unsuspicious temper, and that warm heart which dilated with benevolence to all Mankind. These are succeeded by gloom, disgust, suspicion, and all the selfish passions which sour the temper and contract the heart. When old people associate only with one another, they mutually increase these unhappy dispositions, by brooding over their disappointments, the degeneracy of the times, and such like cheerless and uncomfortable subjects. The conversation of young people dispels this gloom, and communicates a cheerfulness, and something else perhaps which we do not fully understand, of great consequence to health and the prolongation of life. There is an universal principle of imitation among Mankind, which disposes them to catch instantaneously, and without being conscious of it, the resemblance of any action or character that presents itself. This disposition we can often check by the force of Reason, or the assistance of opposite impressions: at other times, it is insurmountable. We have numberless examples of this in the similitude of character and manners induced by people living much together, in the sudden communications of terror, of melancholy, of joy, of the military ardor, when no cause can be assigned for these emotions. The communication of nervous disorders, especially of the convulsive kind, is often so astonishing, that it has been referred to fascination or witchcraft. We shall not pretend to explain the nature of this mental infection; but it is a fact well established, that such a thing exists, and that there is such a principle in Nature as an healthy sympathy, as well as a morbid infection.



An old Man, who enters into this philosophy, is far from envying or proving a check on the innocent pleasures of young people, and particularly of his own Children. On the contrary, he attends with delight to the gradual opening of the Imagination and the dawn of Reason; he enters by a secret sort of sympathy into their guiltless joys, that recall to his memory the tender images of his youth, which, by length of time, have contracted a * softness inexpressibly agreeable; and thus the evening of life is protracted to an happy, honourable, and unenvied old age.

* ADDISON.





IX.

S e r m o n s.

I. Inquiry after Happiness.

By Laurence Sterne, M. A.

PSALM IV. 5. 6. There be many that say, Who will show us any good? — Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.

THE great pursuit of man is after happiness: it is the first and strongest desire of his nature: — in every stage of his life, he searches for it, as for hid treasure; — courts it under a thousand different shapes; — and, though perpetually disappointed — still persists — runs after, and inquires for it afresh — asks every passenger who comes in his way, who will show him any good? — who will assist him in the attainment of it, or direct him to the discovery of this great end of all his wishes?

He is told by one, to search for it amongst the more gay and youthful pleasures of life, in scenes of mirth and sprightliness, where happiness ever presides, and is ever to be known by the joy and laughter, which he will see, at once, painted in her looks.

A second, with a graver aspect, points out to the costly dwellings which pride and extravagance have erected: — tells the inquirer, that the object he is in search of inhabits there; — that happiness lives only in company with the great, in the midst of much pomp and outward state. —



that he will easily find her out by the coat of many colours she has on, and the great luxury, and expence of equipage and furniture, with which she always sits surrounded.

The miser blesses GOD! — wonders how any one would mislead, and wilfully put him upon so wrong a scent — convinces him that happiness and extravagance never inhabited under the same roof; — that if he would not be disappointed in his search, he must look into the plain and thrifty dwelling of the prudent man, who knows and understands the worth of money, and cautiously lays it up against an evil hour: that it is not the prostitution of wealth upon the passions, or the parting with it at all, that constitutes happiness, — but that it is the keeping together, and the HAVING and HOLDING it fast to him and his heirs for ever, which are the chief attributes that form this great idol of human worship, to which so much incense is offered up every day.

The epicure, though he easily rectifies so gross a mistake, yet at the same time he plunges him, if possible, into a greater; for, hearing the object of his pursuit to be happiness, and knowing of no other happiness than what is seated immediately in the senses — he sends the inquirer there; — tells him, it is in vain to search elsewhere for it, than where Nature herself has placed it — in the indulgence and gratification of the appetites, which are given us for that end: and, in a word, — if he will not take his opinion in the matter — he may trust the word of a much wiser man, who has assured us — that there is nothing better in this world, than that a man should



should eat and drink, and rejoice in his works, and make his soul enjoy good in his labour, for that is his portion.

To rescue him from this brutal experiment, Ambition takes him by the hand, and carries him into the world, — shows him all the kingdoms of the earth, and the glory of them, — points out the many ways of advancing his fortune, and raising himself to honour, — lays before his eyes all the charms and bewitching temptations of power, and asks if there can be any happiness in this world like that of being caressed, courted, flattered and followed?

To close all, the philosopher meets him bustling in the full career of this pursuit — stops him — tells him, if he is in search of happiness, he is far gone out of his way.

That this deity has long been banished from noise and tumults, where there was no rest found for her, and was fled into solitude, far from all commerce of the world; and, in a word, if he would find her, he must leave this busy and intriguing scene, and go back to that peaceful scene of retirement and books, from which he at first set out.

In this circle too often does man run; tries all experiments, and generally sits down weary and dissatisfied with them all at last — in utter despair of ever accomplishing what he wants — nor knowing what to trust to, after so many disappointments, or where to lay the fault; whether in the incapacity of his own nature, or the enjoyments themselves.



In this uncertain and perplexed state — without knowledge which way to turn, or where to betake ourselves for refuge — so often abused and deceived by the many who pretend thus to show us any good — LORD! says the psalmist, lift up the light of thy countenance upon us. Send us some rays of thy grace and heavenly wisdom, in this benighted search after happiness, to direct us safely to it. O GOD! let us not wander for ever without a guide in this dark region, in endless pursuit of our mistaken good; but enlighten our eyes, that we sleep not in death — open to them the comforts of thy holy word and religion — lift up the light of thy countenance upon us — and make us know the joy and satisfaction of living in the true faith and fear of Thee, which only can carry us to this haven of rest where we would be — that sure haven, where true joys are to be found, which will at length not only answer all our expectations — but satisfy the most unbounded of our wishes for ever and ever.

The words thus opened, naturally reduce the remaining part of the discourse under two heads. — The first part of the verse — „there „be many that say, who will show us any „good?“ — To make some reflections upon the insufficiency of most of our enjoyments towards the attainment of happiness, upon some of the most received plans on which it is generally sought.

The examination of which will lead us up to the source, and true secret of all happiness, suggested to us in the latter part of the verse. —

„LORD!



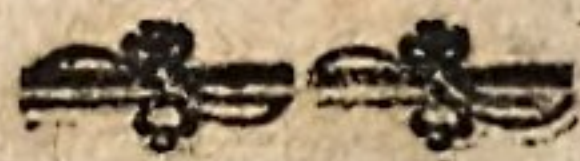
„LORD! lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.” — That there can be no real happiness without religion and virtue, and the assistance of GOD’S grace and Holy Spirit to direct our lives in the true pursuit of it.

Let us inquire into the disappointments of human happiness, on some of the most received plans on which it is generally sought for and expected, by the bulk of mankind.

There is hardly any subject more exhausted, or which, at one time or other, has afforded more matter for argument and declamation, than this one, of the insufficiency of our enjoyments. Scarce a reformed sensualist, from Solomon down to our own days, who has not, in some fits of repentance or disappointment, uttered some sharp reflection upon the emptiness of human pleasure, and of the vanity of vanities which discovers itself in all the pursuits of mortal man. — But the mischief has been, that, though so many good things have been said, they have generally had the fate to be considered, either as the overflowings of disgust from sated appetites, which could no longer relish the pleasures of life, or as the declamatory opinions of recluse and splenetic men, who had never tasted them at all, and consequently, were thought no judges of the matter. So that it is no great wonder, if the greatest part of such reflexions, however just in themselves, and founded on truth, and a knowledge of the world, are found to leave little impression, where the imagination was already heated with great expectations of future happiness; and that the best lectures that have been read upon

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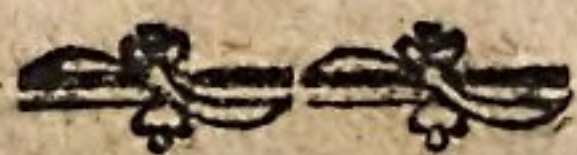


the vanity of the world, so seldom stop a man in the pursuit of the object of his desire, or give him half the conviction that the possession of it will, and what the experience of his own life, or a careful observation upon the life of others, do at length generally confirm to us all.

Let us endeavour, then, to try the cause upon this issue; and, instead of recurring to the common arguments, or taking any one's word in the case, let us trust to matter of fact; and if, upon inquiry, it appears, that the actions of mankind are not to be accounted for upon any other principle, but this, of the insufficiency of our enjoyments, it will go farther towards the establishment of the truth of this part of the discourse, than a thousand speculative arguments which might be offered upon the occasion.

Now, if we take a survey of the life of man, from the time he is come to reason, to the latest decline of it in old age — we shall find him engaged, and generally hurried on in such a succession of different pursuits, and different opinions of things, through the different stages of his life — as will admit of no explication but this, that he finds no rest for the sole of his foot, on any of the plans where he has been led to expect it.

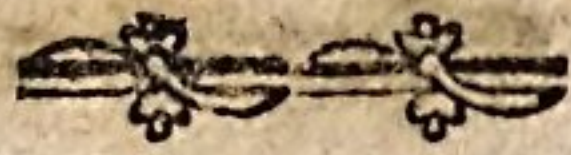
The moment he is got loose from tutors and governors, and is left to judge for himself, and pursue this scheme his own way — his first thoughts are generally full of the mighty happiness which he is going to enter upon, from the free enjoyment of the pleasures in which



which he sees others of his age and fortune engaged.

In consequence of this — take notice, how his imagination is caught by every glittering appearance that flatters this expectation — observe what impressions are made upon his senses, by diversions, musick, dress, and beauty — and how his spirits are upon the wing, flying in pursuit of them; that, you would think, he could never have enough.

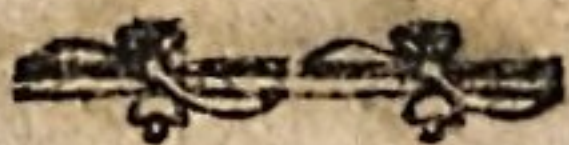
Leave him to himself a few years, till the edge of appetite is worn down — and you will scarce know him again. You will find him entered into engagements, and setting up for a man of business and conduct, talking of no other happiness but what centers in projects of making the most of this world, and providing for his children, and childrens children after them. Examine his notions, he will tell you, that the gayer pleasures of youth, are fit only for those who know not how to dispose of themselves and time to better advantage: that, however fair and promising they might appear to a man unpractised in them — they were no better than a life of folly and impertinence; and, so far from answering your expectation of happiness, it was well if you escaped without pain: — that in every experiment he had tried, he had found more bitter than sweet; and for the little pleasure one could snatch — it too often left a terrible sting behind it: besides, did the balance ly on the other side, he would tell you, there could be no true satisfaction, where a life runs on in so giddy a circle, out of which a wise man should extricate himself



as soon as he can, that he may begin to look forwards: — that it becomes a man of character and consequence to lay aside childish things, to take care of his interests, to establish the fortune of his family, and place it out of want and dependence: and, in a word, if there is such a thing as happiness upon earth, it must consist in the accomplishment of this; and, for his own part, if GOD should prosper his endeavours, so as to be worth such a sum, or to be able to bring such a point to bear — he shall be one of the happiest of the sons of men. — In full assurance of this, on he drudges — plots — contrives — rises early — late takes rest, and eats the bread of carefulness; till at length, by hard labour and perseverance, he has reached, if not outgone, the object he had first in view. — When he has got thus far — if he is a plain and sincere man, he will make no scruple to acknowledge truly, what alteration he has found in himself: — if you ask him — he will tell you, that his imagination painted something before his eyes, the reality of which he has not yet attained to: that with all the accumulation of his wealth, he neither lives the merrier, sleeps the sounder, or has less care and anxiety upon his spirits, than at his first setting out.

Perhaps, you will say, some dignity, honour, or title, only is wanting. — Oh! could I accomplish that, as there would be nothing left then for me to wish, good GOD! how happy should I be? — It is still the same — the dignity or title — though they crown his head with honour — add not one cubit to his happiness. Upon summing up the account, all, all is found

to



to be seated merely in the imagination. — The faster he has pursued, the faster the phantom fled before him; and, to use the Satyrift's comparison of the chariot-wheels — haste as they will, they must for ever keep the same distance.

But what? though I have been thus far disappointed in my expectations of happiness from the possession of riches: — „Let me try, whether „I shall not meet with it, in the spending and „fashionable enjoyment of them.”

Behold! I will get me down, and make me great works, and build me houses, and plant vineyards, and make me gardens and pools of water. And I will get me servants and maidens; and whatsoever my eyes desire, I will not keep from them.

In prosecution of this — he drops all painful pursuits — withdraws himself from the busy part of the world — realizes — pulls down — builds up again. — Buys statues, pictures — plants — and plucks up by the roots — levels mountains — and fills up vallies — turns rivers into dry ground, and dry ground into rivers — Says unto this man, Go, and he goeth; and unto another, Do this, and he doeth it: — and whatsoever his soul lusteth after of this kind, he withholds not from it. When every thing is thus planned by himself, and executed according to his wish and direction, surely he is arrived to the accomplishment of his wishes, and has got to the summit of all human happiness? — Let the most fortunate adventurers in this way answer the question for him, and say — how often
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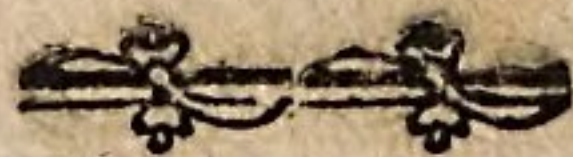


it rises higher than a bare and simple amusement — and well, if you can compound for that — since 'tis often purchased at so high a price, and so soured by a mixture of other incidental vexations, as to become too often a work of repentance, which in the end will extort the same sorrowful confession from him, which it did from Solomon in the like case — Lo! I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do — and behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit — and there was no profit to me under the sun.

To inflame this account the more — it will be no miracle, if, upon casting it up, he has gone farther lengths than he first intended — run into expences which have entangled his fortune, and brought himself into such difficulties as to make way for the last experiment he can try — and that is to turn miser, with no happiness in view but what is to rise out of the little designs of a sordid mind, set upon saving and scraping up all he has injudiciously spent.

In this last stage — behold him a poor trembling wretch, shut up from all mankind — sinking into utter contempt; spending careful days and sleepless nights, in pursuit of what a narrow and contracted heart can never enjoy: — And let us here leave him to the conviction he will one day find. — That there is no end of his labour. — That his eyes will never be satisfied with riches, or will say. — For whom do I labour and bereave myself of rest? — This is also a fore travel.

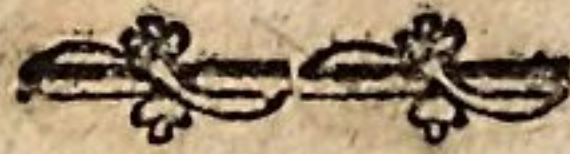
I be.



I believe this is no uncommon picture of the disappointments of human life — and the manner our pleasures and enjoyments slip from under us in every stage of our life. And though I would not be thought, by it, as if I was denying the reality of pleasures, or disputing the being of them, any more than one would the reality of pain — yet I must observe on this head, that there is a plain distinction to be made betwixt pleasure and happiness. For though there can be no happiness without pleasure — yet the converse of the proposition will not hold true. — We are so made, that from the common gratifications of our appetites, and the impressions of a thousand objects, we snatch the one, like a transient gleam, without being suffered to taste the other, and enjoy that perpetual sun-shine and fair weather which constantly attend it. This, I contend, is only to be found in religion — in the consciousness of virtue — and the sure and certain hopes of a better life, which brightens all our prospects, and leaves no room to dread disappointments — because the expectation of it is built upon a rock, whose foundations are as deep as those of heaven and hell.

And though, in our pilgrimage through this world — some of us may be so fortunate as to meet with some clear fountains by the way, that may cool, for a few moments, the heat of this great thirst of happiness — yet our SAVIOUR, who knew the world, though he enjoyed but little of it, tells us, that whosoever drinketh of this water will thirst again: — and we all find by experience it is so, and by reason that it always must be so.

I con.



I conclude with a short observation upon Solomon's evidence in this case.

Never did the busy brain of a lean and hectic chymist search for the philosopher's stone with more pains and ardour than this great man did after happiness. — He was one of the wisest inquirers into Nature — had tried all her powers and capacities, and, after a thousand vain speculations and vile experiments, he affirmed, at length, it lay hid in no one thing he had tried — like the chymist's projections, all had ended in smoke, or, what was worse, in vanity and vexation of spirit: — the conclusion of the whole matter was this — that he advises every man who would be happy, to fear God, and keep his commandments.

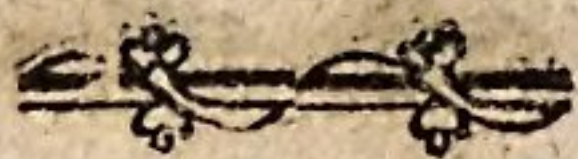


II. Philanthropy Recommended.

A Sermon, by Laurence Sterne, M. A.

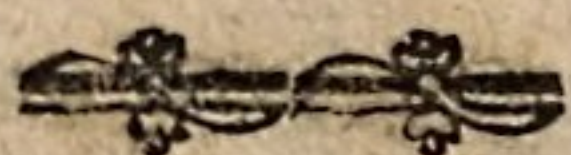
LUKE x. 36, 37. Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell amongst the thieves? — And he said, He that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, — Go, and do thou likewise.

IN the foregoing verses of this chapter, the Evangelist relates, that a certain lawyer stood up and tempted JESUS, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? — To which inquiry, our SAVIOUR, as his manner was, when any ensnaring question was put to him, which he saw proceeded more from a design to entangle him, than an honest view of getting information — instead of giving a direct answer, which might afford a handle to malice, or at best serve only to gratify an impertinent humour — he immediately retorts the question upon the man who asked it, and unavoidably puts him upon the necessity of answering himself: — and as, in the present case, the particular profession of the inquirer, and his supposed general knowledge of all other branches of learning, left no room to suspect he could be ignorant of the true answer to his question, and especially of what every one knew was delivered upon that head by their great Legislator, our SAVIOUR, therefore, refers him to his own memory of what he had found there in the course of his studies. — What is written in the law? how readest thou? Upon which the inquirer, reciting the general heads of our duty to GOD and MAN, as delivered in the 18th of Leviticus,



ticus, and the 6th of Deuteronomy, — namely — That we should worship the Lord our God with all our hearts, and love our neighbours as ourselves; our blessed SAVIOUR tells him, he had answered right, and if he followed that lesson, he could not fail of the blessing he seemed desirous to inherit. — This do, and thou shalt live.

But he, as the context tells us, willing to justify himself — willing possibly to gain more credit in the conference, or hoping, perhaps, to hear such a partial and narrow definition of the word neighbour, as would suit his own principles, and justify some particular oppressions of his own, or those of which his whole order lay under an accusation — says unto JESUS, in the 29th verse — And who is my neighbour? Though the demand, at first sight, may seem utterly trifling, yet was it far from being so in fact. For according as you understood the term in a more or a less restrained sense — it produced many necessary variations in the duties you owed from that relation. Our blessed SAVIOUR, to rectify any partial and pernicious mistake in this matter, and place, at once, this duty of the love of our neighbour upon its true bottom of philanthropy and universal kindness, makes answer to the proposed question, not by any any far fetched refinement from the schools, of the Rabbies, which might have sooner silenced than convinced the man — but by a direct appeal to human nature, in an instance he relates of a man falling among thieves, left in the greatest distress imaginable, till by chance a Samaritan, an utter stranger, coming where he was, by an act of great

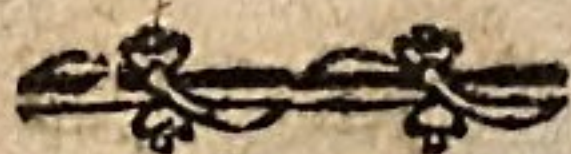


great goodness and compassion, not only relieved him at present, but took him under his protection, and generously provided for his future safety.

On the close of which engaging account, our SAVIOUR appeals to the man's own heart in the first verse of the text: — Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell amongst the thieves? and instead of drawing the inference himself, leaves him to decide in favour of so noble a principle, so evidently founded in mercy. — The lawyer, struck with the truth and justice of the doctrine, and frankly acknowledging the force of it, our blessed SAVIOUR concludes the debate with a short admonition, that he would practise what he had approved — and go and imitate that fair example of universal benevolence which it had set before him.

In the remaining part of the discourse, I shall follow the same plan; and therefore, shall beg leave to enlarge, First, upon the story itself, with such reflections as will rise from it; and conclude, as our SAVIOUR has done, with the same exhortation to kindness and humanity which so naturally falls from it.

A certain man, says our SAVIOUR, went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, who stripped him of his raiment, and departed, leaving him half dead. There is something in our nature which engages us to take part in every accident to which man is subject, from what cause soever it may have happened; but in
e e such



such calamities as a man has fallen into through mere misfortune, to be charged upon no fault or indiscretion of himself, there is something then so truly interesting, that at first sight we generally make them our own, not altogether from a reflection that they might have been, or may be so, but oftener from a certain generosity and tenderness of nature which disposes us for compassion, abstracted from all considerations of self: so that, without any observable act of the will, we suffer with the unfortunate, and feel a weight upon our spirits, we know not why, on seeing the most common instances of their distress. But where the spectacle is uncommonly tragical, and complicated with many circumstances of misery, the mind is then taken captive at once, and, were it inclined to it, has no power to make resistance, but surrenders itself to all the tender emotions of pity and deep concern. So that when one considers the friendly part of our nature, without looking farther, one would think it impossible for man to look upon misery, without finding himself, in some measure, attached to the interest of him who suffers it — I say, one would think it impossible — for there are some tempers — how shall I describe them? — formed either of such impenetrable matter, or wrought up, by habitual selfishness, to such an utter insensibility of what becomes of the fortunes of their fellow-creatures, as if they were not partakers of the same nature, or had no lot or connexion at all with the species.

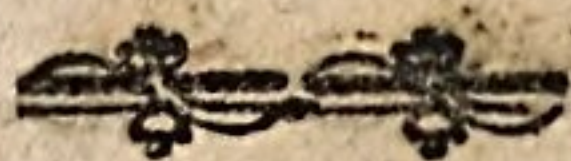
Of this character our SAVIOUR produces two disgraceful instances, in the behaviour of a priest and a Levite, whom in this account he represents
as



as coming to the place where the unhappy man was ; — both passing by , without either stretching forth a hand to assist , or uttering a word to comfort him in his distress.

And , by chance , there came down a certain priest ! — merciful GOD ! that a teacher of thy religion should ever want humanity — or that a man , whose head might be thought full of the one , should have a heart void of the other ! — This , however , was the case before us — and though , in theory , one would scarce suspect that the least pretence to religion , and an open disregard to so main a part of it , could ever meet together in one person ; — yet , in fact , it is no fictitious character.

Look into the world — how often do you behold a sordid wretch , whose strait heart is open to no man's affliction , taking shelter behind an appearance of piety , and putting on the garb of religion , which none but the merciful and compassionate have a title to wear ? Take notice with what sanctity he goes , to the end of his days , in the same selfish track in which he at first set out — turning neither to the right hand nor to the left — but plods on — pores all his life-long upon the ground , as if afraid to look up , lest peradventure he should see aught which might turn him one moment out of that strait line where interest is carrying him ; — or if , by chance , he stumbles upon a hapless object of distress , which threatens such a disaster to him — like the man here represented , devoutly passing by on the other side , as if unwilling to trust himself to the impressions of



nature, or hazard the inconveniencies which pi-ty might lead him into upon the occasion.

There is but one stroke wanting in this picture of an unmerciful man, to render the character utterly odious, and that our SAVIOUR gives it in the following instance he relates upon it. And likewise, says he, a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked at him. It was not a transient oversight, the hasty or ill-advised neglect of an unconsidering humour, with which the best disposed are sometimes overtaken, and led on beyond the point where otherwise they would have wished to stop — No! on the contrary, it had all the aggravation of a deliberate act of insensibility, proceeding from an hard heart. When he was at the place, he came, and looked at him — considered his misfortunes — gave time for reason and nature to have awoke — saw the imminent danger he was in — and the pressing necessity of immediate help, which so violent a case called aloud for; — and after all — turned aside, and unmercifully left him to all the distresses of his condition.

In all unmerciful actions, the worst of men pay this compliment, at least, to humanity, as to endeavour to wear as much of the appearance of it, as the case will well let them; — so that in the hardest acts a man shall be guilty of, he has some motives, true or false, always ready to offer, either to satisfy himself or the world, and, GOD knows, too often to impose both upon the one and the other. And therefore, it would be no hard matter here to give a probable guess at what passed in the Levite's mind in the present case, and



and show, was it necessary, by what kind of casuistry he settled the matter with his conscience as he passed by, and guarded all the passages to his heart against the inroads which pity might attempt to make upon the occasion. — But it is painful to dwell long upon this disagreeable part of the story; I therefore hasten to the concluding incident of it, which is so amiable, that one cannot easily be too copious in reflections upon it. — And behold, says our SAVIOUR, a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion on him — and went to him — bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine — set him upon his own beast, brought him to an inn, and took care of him. I suppose it will be scarce necessary here to remind you, that the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans: — an old religious grudge — the worst of all grudges! had wrought such a dislike between both people, that they held themselves mutually discharged, not only from all offices of friendship and kindness, but even from the most common acts of courtesy and good manners. — This operated so strongly in our SAVIOUR'S time, that the woman of Samaria seemed astonished, that he, being a Jew, should ask water of her, who was a Samaritan: — so that, with such prepossession, however distressful the case of the unfortunate man was, and how reasonably soever he might plead for pity from another man, there was little aid or consolation to be looked for from so unpromising a quarter. „ Alas! after I „ have been twice passed by, neglected by men „ of my own nation and religion, bound by so „ many ties to assist me, left here friendless and „ unpitied both by a priest and a Levite, men „ who-



„ whose profession and superior advantages of
 „ knowledge could not leave them in the dark,
 „ in what manner they should discharge this debt
 „ which my condition claims — after this — what
 „ hopes? what expectations from a passenger,
 „ not only a stranger, — but a Samaritan, relea-
 „ sed from all obligations to me, and, by a na-
 „ tional dislike, inflamed by mutual ill offices,
 „ now made my enemy, and more likely to re-
 „ joice at the evils which have fallen upon me,
 „ than to stretch forth a hand to save me from
 „ them? ”

It is no unnatural soliloquy to imagine: but
 the actions of generous and compassionate tem-
 pers baffle all little reasonings about them. — True
 charity, in the apostle's description, as it is kind,
 and is not easily provoked, so it manifested this
 character here; — for we find, when he came
 where he was, and beheld his distress, — all the
 unfriendly passions, which at another time might
 have rose within him, now utterly forsook him,
 and fled: when he saw his misfortunes — he for-
 got his enmity towards the man, — dropped all
 the prejudices which education had planted against
 him, and, in the room of them, all that was
 good and compassionate was suffered to speak in
 his behalf.

In benevolent natures, the impulse to pity
 is so sudden, that, like instruments of musick,
 which obey the touch — the objects which are fitted
 to excite such impressions, work so instantaneous
 an effect, that you would think the will was scarce
 concerned, and that the mind was altogether pas-
 sive in the sympathy which her own goodness has
 ex-



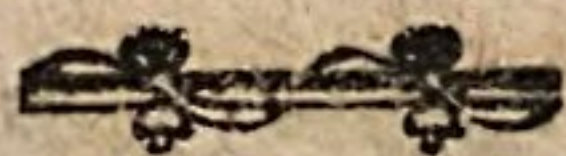
excited. The truth is, — the soul is generally, in such cases, so busily taken up, and wholly engrossed by the object of pity, that she does not attend to her own operations, or take leisure to examine the principles upon which she acts. So that the Samaritan, though the moment he saw him he had compassion on him, yet, sudden as the emotion is represented, you are not to imagine that it was mechanical, but that there was a settled principle of humanity and goodness which operated within him, and influenced not only the first impulse of kindness, but the continuation of it throughout the rest of so engaging a behaviour. And because it is a pleasure to look into a good mind, and trace out, as far as one is able, what passes within it on such occasions, I shall beg leave, for a moment, to state an account of what was likely to pass in his, and in what manner so distressful a case would necessarily work upon such a disposition.

As he approached the place where the unfortunate man lay, the instant he beheld him, no doubt, some such train of reflections as this would rise in his mind. „ Good God! what a spectacle
„ of misery do I behold — a man stripped of his
„ raiment — wounded — lying languishing before
„ me upon the ground, just ready to expire,
„ — without the comfort of a friend to support
„ him in his last agonies, or the prospect of
„ an hand to close his eyes when his pains are
„ over. But perhaps my concern should lessen,
„ when I reflect on the relations in which we
„ stand to each other — that he is a Jew, and I
„ a Samaritan. — But are we not still both
„ men — partakers of the same nature — and



„ subject to the same evils? — Let me change
„ conditions with him for a moment, and confi-
„ der, had his lot be all on me as I journeyed in
„ the way, what measure I should have expected
„ at his hand. — Should I wish, when he be-
„ held me wounded and half dead, that he should
„ shut up his bowels of compassion from me,
„ and double the weight of my miseries, by pas-
„ sing by and leaving them unpitied? — But I
„ am a stranger to the man; — be it so, — but
„ I am no stranger to his condition — misfortu-
„ nes are of no particular tribe or nation, but
„ belong to us all, and have a general claim
„ upon us, without distinction of climate, coun-
„ try, or religion. Besides, though I am a
„ stranger — it is no fault of his that I do not
„ know him, and therefore unequitable he
„ should suffer by it. — Had I known him,
„ possibly I should have had cause to love and pi-
„ ty him the more — for aught I know, he is
„ some one of uncommon merit, whose life is
„ rendered still more precious, as the lives and
„ happiness of others may be involved in it: per-
„ haps, at this instant that he lies here forsaken,
„ in all this misery, a whole virtuous family is
„ joyfully looking for his return, and affectiona-
„ tely counting the hours of delay. Oh! did they
„ know what evil hath befallen him — how
„ would they fly to succour him! — Let me
„ then hasten to supply those tender offices of
„ binding up his wounds, and carrying him to
„ a place of safety — or, if that assistance comes
„ too late, I shall comfort him at least in his last
„ hour — and, if I can do nothing else, — I
„ shall soften his misfortunes, by dropping a
„ tear of pity over them.”

It



It is almost necessary to imagine the good Samaritan was influenced by some such thoughts as these, from the uncommon generosity of his behaviour, which is represented by our SAVIOUR operating like the warm zeal of a brother, mixed with the affectionate discretion and care of a parent, who was not satisfied with taking him under his protection, and supplying his present wants, but in looking forwards for him, and taking care that his wants should be supplied, when he should be gone, and no longer near to be friend him.

I think there needs no stronger argument to prove how universally and deeply the seeds of this virtue of compassion are planted in the heart of man, than in the pleasure we take in such representations of it: and, though some men have represented human nature in other colours, (though to what end I know not) that the matter of fact is so strong against them, that, from the general propensity to pity the unfortunate, we express that sensation by the word humanity, as if it was inseparable from our nature. That it is not inseparable, I have allowed in the former part of this discourse, from some reproachful instances of selfish tempers, which seem to take part in nothing beyond themselves; yet I am persuaded, and affirm, it is still so great and noble a part of our nature, that a man must do great violence to himself, and suffer many a painful conflict, before he has brought himself to a different disposition.

It is observable in the foregoing account, that, when the priest came to the place where he
e e 5 was,



was, he passed by on the other side. — He might have passed by, you will say, without turning aside. — No; there is a secret shame which attends every act of inhumanity, not to be conquered in the hardest natures; so that, as in other cases, so especially in this, many a man will do a cruel act, who, at the same time, would blush to look you in the face, and is forced to turn aside before he can have a heart to execute his purpose.

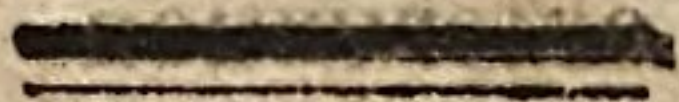
Inconsistent creature that man is! who, at that instant that he does what is wrong, is not able to withhold his testimony to what is good and praiseworthy.

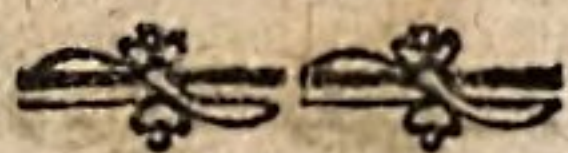
I have now done with the parable, which was the first part proposed to be considered in this discourse; and should proceed to the second, which so naturally falls from it, of exhorting you, as our SAVIOUR did the lawyer upon it, to go and do so likewise: but I have been so copious in my reflections upon the story itself, that I find I have insensibly incorporated into them almost all that I should have said here, in recommending so amiable an example; by which means, I have, unawares, anticipated the task I proposed. I shall therefore detain you no longer than with a single remark upon the subject in general, which is this: — It is observable in many places of scripture, that our blessed SAVIOUR, in describing the day of judgment, does it in such a manner, as if the great inquiry then was to relate principally to this one virtue of compassion — and as if our final sentence, at that solemnity, was to be pronounced exactly according to the degrees of
of



of it. „I was a hungered, and ye gave me
„ meat — thirsty, and ye gave me drink —
„ naked, and ye clothed me — I was sick, and
„ ye visited me — in prison, and ye came unto
„ me.” — Not that we are to imagine from
thence, as if any other good or evil action should
then be overlooked by the eye of the All-seeing
Judge; but barely to intimate to us, that a cha-
ritable and benevolent disposition is so principal
and ruling a part of a man’s character, as to be a
considerable test, by itself, of the whole frame
and temper of his mind, with which all other vir-
tues and vices respectively rise and fall, and will
almost necessarily be connected. — Tell me,
therefore, of a compassionate man; — you re-
present to me a man of a thousand other good
qualities — on whom I can depend — whom I
may safely trust with my wife — my children,
my fortune, and reputation. It is for this, as
the apostle argues from the same principle —
„ that he will not commit adultery — that he will
„ not kill — that he will not steal — that he will
„ not bear false witness.” That is, the sorrows
which are stirred up in mens hearts by such tres-
passes, are so tenderly felt by a compassionate
man, that it is not in his power, or his nature,
to commit them.

So that, well might he conclude, that cha-
rity, by which he means, love to your neigh-
bour, was the end of the commandment, and
that whosoever fulfilled it, had fulfilled the law.





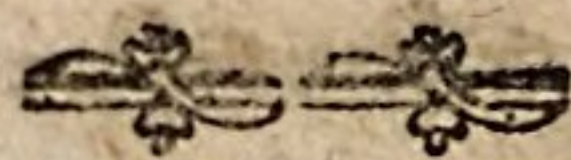
III. Time and Change.

A Sermon, by Laurence Sterne, M. A.

ECCLES. IX. 11. I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, — neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill, — but time and change happeneth to them all.

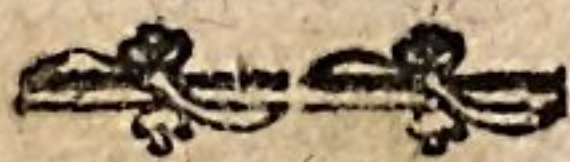
WHEN a man casts a look upon this melancholy description of the world, and sees, contrary to all his guesses and expectations, what different fates attend the lives of men, — how oft it happens in the world, that there is not even bread to the wise, nor riches to men of understanding, &c. — he is apt to conclude with a sigh upon it, — in the words, — though not in the sense of the wise man, — that time and chance happeneth to them all. — That time and chance, — apt seasons and fit conjunctures, have the greatest sway in the turns and disposals of mens fortunes: and that, as these lucky hits (as they are called) happen to be for, or against a man, — they either open the way to his advancement against all obstacles, — or block it up against all helps and attempts; that, as the text intimates, neither wisdom, nor understanding, nor skill, shall be able to surmount them.

However widely we may differ in our reasonings upon this observation of Solomon's, the authority of the observation is strong beyond doubt, and the evidence given of it in all ages so alternately confirmed by examples and complaints,



plaints, as to leave the fact itself unquestionable. — That things are carried on in this world, sometimes so contrary to all our reasonings, and the seeming probabilities of success, — that, even the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, — nay, what is stranger still — nor yet bread to the wise, who should last stand in want of it, — nor yet riches to men of understanding, who you would think best qualified to acquire them, — nor yet favour to men of skill, whose merit and pretences bid the fairest for it — but that there are some secret and unseen workings in human affairs, which baffle all our endeavours, — and turn aside the course of things in such a manner, — that the most likely causes disappoint and fall of producing for us the effect which we wished and naturally expected from them.

You will see a man, of whom, was you to form a conjecture from the appearances of things in his favour, — you would say was setting out in the world with the fairest prospect of making his fortune in it; — with all the advantages of birth to recommend him, — of personal merit to speak for him, — and of friends to help and push him forwards: you will behold him, notwithstanding this, disappointed in every effect you might naturally have looked for, from them; every step he takes towards his advancement, something invisible shall pull him back, some unforeseen obstacle shall rise up perpetually in his way, and keep him there. — In every application he makes, — some untoward circumstance shall blast it. — He shall rise early, — late take rest, — and eat the bread of carefulness; — yet
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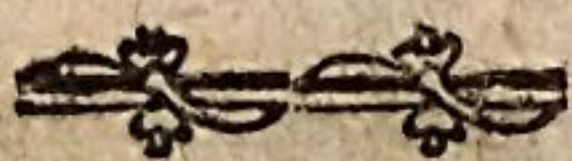


some happier man shall still rise up, and ever step in before him, and leave him struggling, to the end of his life, in the very same place in which he first began it.

The history of a second, shall in all respects be the contrast to this. He shall come into the world with the most unpromising appearance, — shall set forwards without fortune, without friends — without talents to procure him either the one or the other. Nevertheless, you will see this clouded prospect brighten up insensibly, unaccountably before him; every thing presented in his way, shall turn out beyond his expectations; — in spite of that chain of unfurmountable difficulties which first threatened him — time and chance shall open him a way, — a series of successful occurrences shall lead him by the hand to the summit of honour and fortune, and, in a word, without giving him the pains of thinking, or the credit of projecting it, shall place him in safe possession of all that ambition could wish for.

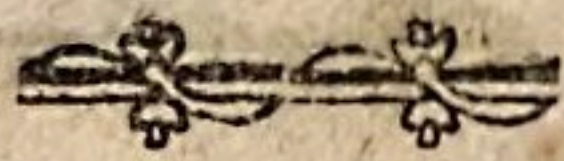
The histories of the lives and fortunes of men are full of instances of this nature, — where favourable times, and lucky accidents, have done for them, what wisdom or skill could not: and there is scarce any one who has lived long in the world, who, upon looking backwards, will not discover such a mixture of these in the many successful turns which have happened in his life, as to leave him very little reason to dispute against the fact, and, I should hope, as little upon the conclusions to be drawn from it.

Some,



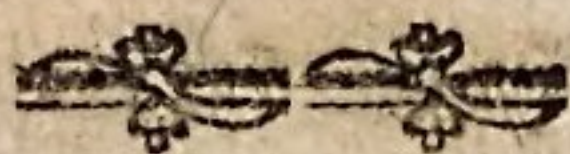
Some, indeed, from a superficial view of this representation of things, have atheistically inferred, — that because there was so much of lottery in this life, — and mere casualty seemed to have such a share in the disposal of our affairs, — that the providence of GOD stood neuter and unconcerned in their several workings, leaving them to the mercy of time and chance, to be furthered or disappointed as such blind agents directed. Whereas, in truth, the very opposite conclusion follows. For consider, — if a superior intelligent power 'did not sometimes cross and overrule events in this world — then our policies and designs in it, would always answer according to the wisdom and stratagem in which they were laid, and every cause, in the course of things, would produce its natural effect, without variation. Now, as this is not the case, it necessarily follows, from Solomon's reasoning, that, if the race is not to the swift, — if knowledge and learning do not always secure men from want, — nor care and industry always make men rich, — nor art and skill infallibly make men high in the world; that there is some other cause which mingles itself in human affairs, and governs and turns them as it pleases; which cause can be no other than the First Cause of all things, and the secret and overruling providence of that Almighty GOD, who, though his dwelling is so high, yet he humbleth himself to behold the things that are done on earth, raising up the poor out of the dust, and lifting the beggar from the dunghill, and, contrary to all hopes, putting him with princes, even with the princes of his people; which, by the way, was the case of David, who makes the acknowledgment! —

And



And no doubt — one reason, why GOD has selected to his own disposal so many instances as this, where events have run counter to all probabilities — was to give testimony to his providence in governing the world, and to engage us to a consideration and dependence upon it, for the event and success of our undertakings *. For, undoubtedly — as I said, — it should seem but suitable to nature's law, that the race should ever be to the swift, — and the battle to the strong; — it is reasonable, that the best contrivances and means should have best success: — and since it often falls out otherwise in the case of man, where the wisest projects are overthrown, — and the most hopeful means are blasted, and time and chance happens to all; — you must call in the Deity to untie this knot: — for though, at sundry times — sundry events fall out, — which we, who look no farther than the events themselves, call chance, because they fall out quite contrary, both to our intentions and hopes, ... yet, at the same time, in respect of GOD's providence overruling in these events, it were profane to call them chance, for they are pure designation, and, though invisible, are still the regular dispensations of the superintending power of that Almighty Being, from whom all the laws and powers of nature are derived; — who, as he has appointed, — so holds them as instruments in his hands; and, without invading the liberty and free-will of his creatures, can turn the passions and desires of their hearts to fulfil his own righteousness, and work such effects in human affairs,

* Vid. Tillotson's sermon on this subject.



affairs, which to us seem merely casual, — but to him, certain and determined, and what his infinite wisdom sees necessary to be brought about, for the government and preservation of the world, over which providence perpetually presides.

When the sons of Jacob had cast their brother Joseph into the pit for his destruction, — one would think, if ever any accident which concerned the life of man deserved to be called chance, it was this, — that the company of Ishmaelites should happen to pass by, in that open country, at that very place, at that time too, when this barbarity was committed. After he was rescued by so favourable a contingency — his life and future fortune still depended upon a series of contingencies equally improbable. For instance, had the business of the Ishmaelites, who bought him, carried them from Gilead, to any other part of the world besides Egypt; or, when they arrived there, had they sold their bodslave to any other man but Potiphar, throughout the whole empire, — or, after that disposal, had the unjust accusations of his master's wife cast the youth into any other dungeon, than that where the king's prisoners were kept, — or had it fallen out at any other crisis, than when Pharaoh's chief butler was cast there too; — had this, or any other of these events, fallen out otherwise than it did, — a series of unmerited misfortunes had overwhelmed him — and, in consequence, the whole land of Egypt and Canaan. From the first opening to the conclusion of this long and interesting transaction, the providence of GOD suffered every thing to take its course: the malice and

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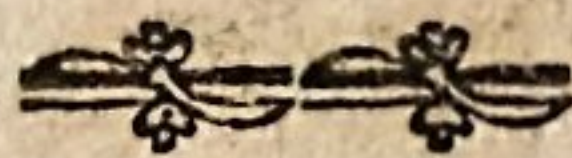
cruelty of Joseph's brethren, wrought the worst mischief against him; — banished him from his country and the protection of his parent. — The lust and baseness of a disappointed woman sunk him still deeper; — loaded his character with an unjust reproach, — and, to complete his ruin, doomed him, friendless, to the miseries of a hopeless prison, where he lay neglected. Providence, though it did not cross these events, — yet providence bent them to the most merciful ends. When the whole DRAMA was opened, then the wisdom and contrivance of every part of it was displayed. Then it appeared, it was not they (as the patriarch inferred, in consolation of his brethren,) it was not they who sold him, but GOD; — it was He sent him thither before them; — his superintending power availed itself of their passions, — directed the operations of them, — held the chain in his hand, and turned and wound it to his own purpose. „Ye verily thought evil against me, — but GOD meant it for good; — ye had the guilt of a bad intention, — his providence the glory of accomplishing a good one, — by preserving you a posterity upon the earth, and bringing to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive.” All history is full of such testimonies, which, though they may convince those who look no deeper than the surface of things, that time and chance happen to all, — yet, to those who look deeper, they manifest, at the same time, that there is a hand much busier in human affairs than what we vainly calculate; which, though the projectors of this world overlook, — or at least make no allowance for in the formation of their plans, they
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generally find it in the execution of them. And though the fatalist may urge, that every event in this life is brought about by the ministry and chain of natural causes; — yet, in answer, — let him go one step higher — and consider, — whose power it is, that enables these causes to work, — whose knowledge it is that foresees what will be their effects, — whose goodness it is that is invisibly conducting them forwards to the best and greatest ends for the happiness of his creatures.

So that, as a great reasoner justly distinguishes upon this point, — „It is not only religiously speaking, but with the strictest and most philosophical truth of expression, that the scripture tells us, that GOD commandeth the ravens: — that they are His directions, which the winds and the seas obey. If his servant hides himself by the brook, such an order of causes and effects shall be laid, — that the fowls of the air shall minister to his support. — When this resource fails, and his prophet is directed to go to Zarephath — for that he has commanded a widow woman there to sustain him, — the same hand which leads the prophet to the gate of the city — shall lead forth the distressed widow to the same place, to take him under her roof, — and, though upon the impulse of a different occasion, shall nevertheless be made to fulfil his promise and intention of their mutual preservation.”

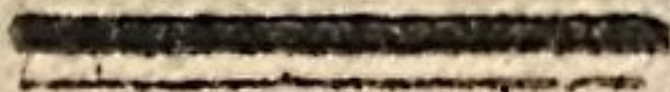
Thus much for the truth and illustration of this great and fundamental doctrine of a providence; the belief of which is of such consequence

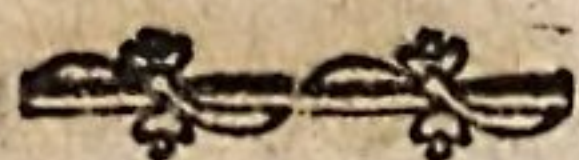


to us, as to be the great support and comfort of our lives.

Justly, therefore, might the psalmist, upon this declaration — that the LORD is King, — conclude, that the earth may be glad thereof, yea, the multitude of the isles may be glad thereof.

May GOD grant, the persuasion may make us as virtuous, as it has reason to make us joyful; and that it may bring forth in us the fruits of good living to his praise and glory: to whom be all might, majesty, and dominion, now and for evermore. Amen.





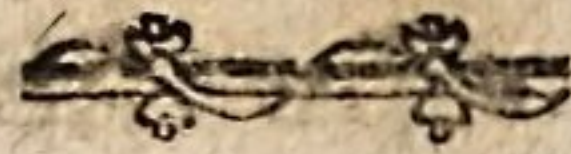
IV. On the Importance of Order in Conduct.

A Sermon, by D. Hugh Blair.

I. CORINTH. XIV. 40. Let all things be done —
in order.

RELIGION, like every regular and well-connected system, is composed of a variety of parts; each of which possesses its separate importance, and contributes to the perfection of the whole. Some graces are essential to it; such as faith and repentance, the love of God, and the love of our neighbour; which, for that reason, must be often inculcated on men. There are other dispositions and habits which though they hold not so high a rank, yet are necessary to the introduction and support of the former; and therefore, in religious exhortations these also justly claim a place. Of this nature is that regard to order, method and regularity, which the apostle enjoins us in the text to carry through the whole of life. Whether you consider it as, in itself, a moral duty, or not, yet I hope soon to convince you that it is essential to the proper discharge of almost all duties, and merits upon that account a greater degree of attention than is commonly paid to it in a religious view.

If you look abroad into the world, you may be satisfied, at the first glance, that a vicious and libertine life is always a life of confusion. Thence it is natural to infer that order is friendly to religion. As the neglect of it co-operates with vice, so the preservation of it must assist virtue. By the appointment of providence, it is indispensably

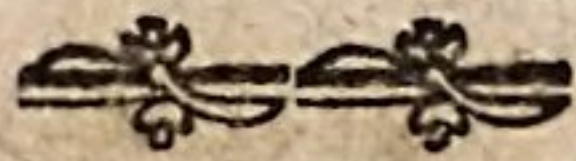


sably requisite to wordly prosperity. Thence arises a presumption that it is connected also with spiritual improvement. When you behold a man's affairs, through negligence and misconduct, involved in disorder, you naturally conclude that his ruin approaches. You may at the same time justly suspect, that the causes which affect his temporal welfare, operate also to the prejudice of his moral interests. The apostle teaches us in this chapter, that God is not the author of confusion *. He is a lover of order; and all his works are full of order. But where confusion is, there is, its close attendant, every evil work †. In the sequel of this discourse I shall point out some of those parts of conduct wherein it is most material to virtue that order take place; and then shall conclude with showing the high advantages which attend it. Allow me to recommend to you, order in the conduct of your affairs; order in the distribution of your time; order in the management of your fortune; order in the regulation of amusements; order in the arrangement of your society. Thus let all thing be done in order.

I. Maintain order in the conduct of your worldly affairs. Every man, in every station of life, has some concerns, private, domestic, or public, which require successive attention; he is placed in some sphere of active duty. Let the employments which belong to that sphere be so arranged, that each may keep its place, without
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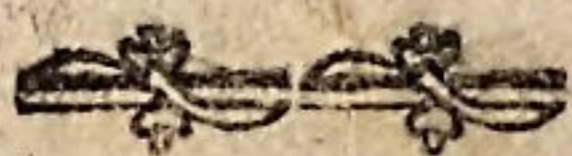
* Ver. 33.

† James iii. 16.



justling another; and that what regards the world may not interfere with what is due to God. In proportion to the multiplicity of affairs, the observance of order becomes more indispensable. But scarcely is there any train of life so simple and uniform but what will suffer through the neglect of it. I speak not now of suffering in point of worldly interest. I call upon you to attend to higher interests; to remember that the orderly conduct of your temporal affairs forms a great part of your duty as Christians.

Many, indeed, can hardly be persuaded of this truth. A strong propensity has, in every age, appeared among men to sequester religion from the commerce of the world. Seasons of retreat and devotion they are willing to appropriate to God. But the world they consider as their own province. They carry on a sort of separate interest there. Nay, by the respect which, on particular occasions, they pay to religion, they too often imagine that they have acquired the liberty of acting in worldly matters according to what plan they chuse. How entirely do such persons mistake the design of Christianity! — In this world you were placed by Providence as on a great field of trial. By the necessities of your nature you are called forth to different employments. By many ties you are connected with human society. From superiours and inferiours, from neighbours and equals, from friends and enemies, demands arise, and obligations circulate through all the ranks of life. This active scene was contrived by the wisdom of heaven, on purpose that it might bring into exercise all the virtues of the christian character; your just-



ce, candour and veracity in dealing with one another; your fidelity to every trust, and your conscientious discharge of every office, which is committed to you; your affection for your friends; your forgiveness of enemies; your charity to the distressed; your attention to the interests of your family. It is by fulfilling all these obligations, in proper succession, that you show your conversation to be such as becometh the gospel of Christ. It is thus you make your light so to shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. It is thus you are rendered meet for the inheritance of the saints in light. — But how can those various duties be discharged by persons who are ever in that hurry and perplexity which disorder creates? You wish, perhaps, to perform what your character and station require. But from the confusion in which you have allowed yourselves to be involved, you find it to have become impossible. What was neglected to be done in its proper place, thrusts itself forward at an inconvenient season. A multitude of affairs crowd upon you together. Different obligations distract you; and this distraction is sometimes the cause, sometimes the pretence, of equally neglecting them all, or, at least, of sacrificing the greater to the lesser.

Hence arise so many inconsistent characters, and such frequent instances of partial and divided goodness, as we find in the world; appearances of generosity without justice, honour without truth, probity to men without reverence of God. He who conducts his affairs with method and regularity, meeteth every duty in its proper place, and

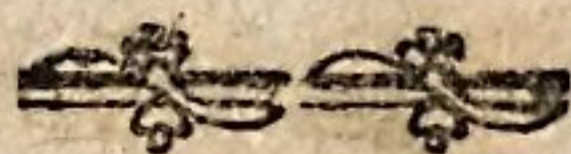


and assigns it its due rank. But where there is no order in conduct, there can be no uniformity in character. The natural connexion and arrangement of duties is lost. If virtue appear at all, it will be only in fits and starts. The authority of conscience may occasionally operate, when our situation affords it room for exertion. But in other circumstances of equal importance, every moral sentiment will be overpowered by the tumultuous bustle of worldly affairs. Fretfulness of temper too, will generally characterize those who are negligent of order. The hurry in which they live, and the embarrassments with which they are surrounded, keep their spirits in perpetual ferment. Conflicting with difficulties which they are unable to overcome, conscious of their own misconduct, but ashamed to confess it, they are engaged in many a secret struggle; and the uneasiness which they suffer within, recoils in bad humour on all who are around them. Hence the wretched resources to which, at last, they are obliged to fly, in order to quiet their cares. In despair of being able to unravel what they have suffered to become so perplexed: they sometimes sink into supine indolence, sometimes throw themselves into the arms of intemperance and loose pleasure; by either of which they aggravate their guilt, and accelerate their ruin. To the end that order may be maintained in your affairs, it is necessary,

II. That you attend to order in the distribution of your time. Time you ought to consider as a sacred trust committed to you by God; of which you are now the depositaries, and are to render account at the last. That portion of it

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which



which he has allotted you is intended partly for the concerns of this world, partly for those of the next. Let each of these occupy in the distribution of your time that space which properly belongs to it. Let not the hours of hospitality and pleasure interfere with the discharge of your necessary affairs; and let not what you call necessary affairs encroach upon the time which is due to devotion. To every thing there is a season, and a time for every purpose under the heaven *. If you delay till to-morrow what ought to be done to-day, you overcharge the morrow with a burden which belongs not to it. You load the wheels of time, and prevent it from carrying you along smoothly. He who every morning plans the transactions of the day, and follows out that plan, carries on a thread which will guide him through the labyrinth of the most busy life. The orderly arrangement of his time is like a ray of light which darts itself through all his affairs. But where no plan is laid, where the disposal of time is surrendered merely to the chance of incidents, all things lie huddled together in one chaos, which admits neither of distribution nor review.

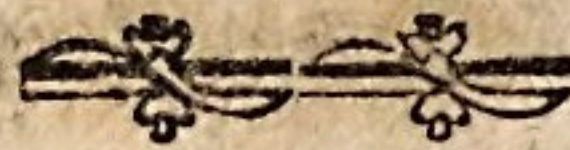
The first requisite for introducing order into the management of time, is to be impressed with a just sense of its value. Consider well how much depends upon it, and how fast it flies away. The bulk of men are in nothing more capricious and inconsistent than in their appretiation of time. When they think of it as the the measure of their
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* Eccles. iii, 1.



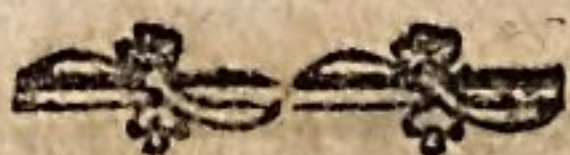
continuance on earth, they highly prize it, and with the greatest anxiety seek to lengthen it out. But when they view it in separate parcels, they appear to hold it in contempt, and squander it with inconsiderate profusion. While they complain that life is short, they are often wishing its different periods at an end. Covetous of every other possession, of time only they are prodigal. They allow every idle man to be master of this property, and make every frivolous occupation welcome that can help them to consume it. Among those who are so careless of time, it is not to be expected that order should be observed in its distribution. But by this fatal neglect, how many materials of severe and lasting regret are they laying up in store for themselves! The time which they suffer to pass away in the midst of confusion, bitter repentance seeks afterwards in vain to recal. What was omitted to be done at its proper moment, arises to be the torment of some future season. Manhood is disgraced by the consequences of neglected youth. Old age, oppressed by cares that belonged to a former period, labours under a burden not its own. At the close of life, the dying man beholds with anguish that his days are finishing, when his preparation for eternity is hardly commenced. Such are the effects of a disorderly waste of time, through not attending to its value. Every thing in the life of such persons is misplaced. Nothing is performed aright, from not being performed in due season.

But he who is orderly in the distribution of his time, takes the proper method of escaping those manifold evils. He is justly said to redeem
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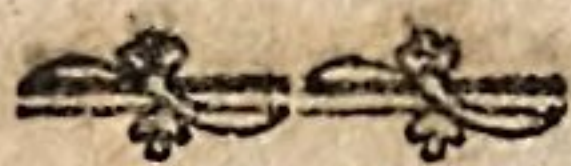


the time. By proper management, he prolongs it. He lives much in little space; more in a few years than others do in many. He can live to God and his own soul, and at the same time attend to all the lawful interests of the present world. He looks back on the past, and provides for the future. He catches and arrests the hours as they fly. They are marked down for useful purposes, and their memory remains. Whereas those hours fleet by the man of confusion like a shadow. His days and years are either blanks of which he has no remembrance, or they are filled up with such a confused and irregular succession of unfinished transactions, that though he remembers he has been busy, yet he can give no account of the business which has employed him. Of him, more than of any other, it may with justice be pronounced, that he walketh in a vain shew; he is disquieted in vain.

III. Introduce order into the management of your fortune. Whatever it be, let the administration of it proceed with method and œconomy. From time to time examine your situation; and proportion your expence to your growing or diminishing revenue. Provide what is necessary, before you indulge in what is superfluous. Study to do justice to all with whom you deal, before you affect the praise of liberality. In a word, fix such a plan of living as you find that your circumstances will fairly admit, and adhere to it invariably against every temptation to improper excess.

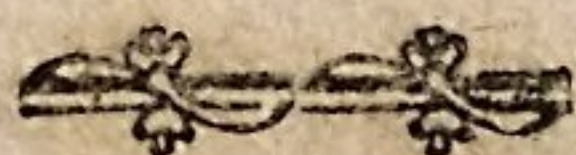


No admonition respecting morals is more necessary than this to the age in which we live; an age manifestly distinguished by a propensity to thoughtless profusion; wherein all the different ranks of men are observed to press with forward vanity on those who are above them; to vie with their superiours in every mode of luxury and ostentation; and to seek no farther argument for justifying extravagance, than the fashion of the times, and the supposed necessity of living like others around them. This turn of mind begets contempt for sober and orderly plans of life. It overthrows all regard to domestic concerns and duties. It pushes men on to hazardous and visionary schemes of gain; and unfortunately unites the two extremes, of grasping with rapaciousness, and of squandering with profusion. In the midst of such disorder no prosperity can be of long continuance. While confusion grows upon men's affairs, and prodigality at the same time wastes their substance, poverty makes its advances like an armed man. They tremble at the view of the approaching evil; but have lost the force of mind to make provision against it. Accustomed to move in a round of society and pleasures disproportioned to their condition, they are unable to break through the enchantments of habit; and with their eyes open sink into the gulph which is before them. Poverty enforces dependance; and dependance increases corruption. Necessity first betrays them into mean compliances; next, impels them to open crimes; and beginning with ostentation and extravagance, they end in infamy and guilt. Such are the consequences of neglecting order in our worldly circumstances. Such is the circle in which the pro-
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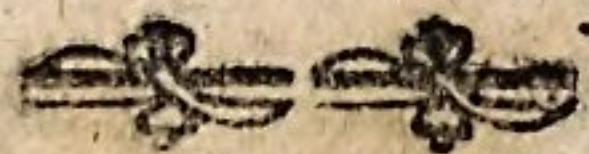
fuse and the dissolute daily run. — To what cause, so much as to the want of order, can we attribute those scenes of distress which so frequently excite our pity; families that once were flourishing reduced to ruin; and the melancholy widow and neglected orphan thrown forth, friendless, upon the world? What cause has been more fruitful in engendering those atrocious crimes which fill society with disquiet and terrour; in training the gamester to fraud, the robber to violence, and even the assassin to blood?

Be assured, then, that order, frugality, and œconomy, are the necessary supports of every personal and private virtue. How humble soever these qualities may appear to some, they are, nevertheless, the basis on which liberty, independence, and true honour, must rise. He who has the steadiness to arrange his affairs with method and regularity, and to conduct his train of life agreeably to his circumstances; can be master of himself in every situation into which he may be thrown. He is under no necessity to flatter or to lie; to stoop to what is mean, or to commit what is criminal. But he who wants that firmness of mind which the observance of order requires, is held in bondage to the world; he can neither act his part with courage as a man, nor with fidelity as a Christian. From the moment you have allowed yourselves to pass the line of œconomy, and to live beyond your fortune, you have entered on the path of danger. Precipices surround you on all sides. Every step which you take may lead to mischiefs that, as yet, lie hidden; and to crimes that will end in your everlasting perdition.



IV. Observe order in your amusements; that is, allow them no more than their proper place; study to keep them within due bounds; mingle them in a temperate succession with serious duties, and the higher business of life. Human life cannot proceed to advantage without some measure of relaxation and entertainment. We require relief from care. We are not formed for a perpetual stretch of serious thought. By too intense and continued application, our feeble powers would soon be worn out. At the same time, from our propensity to ease and pleasure, amusement proves, among all ranks of men, the most dangerous foe to order. For it tends incessantly to usurp and encroach, to widen its territories, to thrust itself into the place of more important concerns, and thereby to disturb and counteract the natural course of things. One frivolous amusement indulged out a season, will often carry perplexity and confusion through a long succession of affairs.

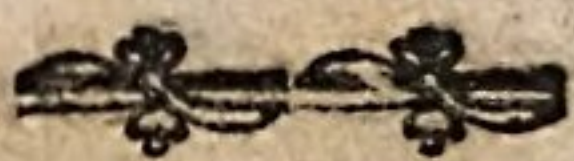
Amusements, therefore, though they be of an innocent kind, require steady government, to keep them within a due and limited province. But such as are of an irregular and vicious nature, require not to be governed, but to be banished from every orderly society. As soon as a man seeks his happiness from the gaming-table, the midnight-revel; and the other haunts of licentiousness, confusion seizes upon him as its own. There will no longer be order in his family, nor order in his affairs, nor order in his time. The most important concerns of life are abandoned. Even the order of nature is by such persons inverted; night is changed into day, and day



day into night. Character, honour, and interest itself, are trampled under foot. You may with certainty prognosticate the ruin of these men to be just at hand. Disorder, arisen to its height, has nearly accomplished its work. The spots of death are upon them. Let every one who would escape the pestilential contagion fly with haste from their company.

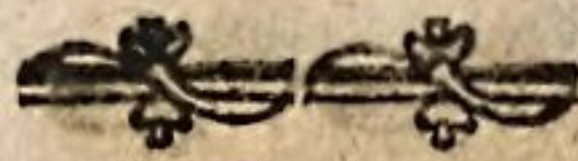
V. Preserve order in the arrangement of your society; that is, entangle not yourselves in a perpetual and promiscuous crowd; select with prudence and propriety those with whom you chuse to associate; let company and retreat succeed each other at measured intervals. There can be no order in his life who allots not a due share of his time to retirement and reflection. He can neither prudently arrange his temporal affairs, nor properly attend to his spiritual interests. He lives not to himself, but to the world. By continual dissipation, he is rendered giddy and thoughtless. He contracts unavoidably from the world that spirit of disorder and confusion which is so prevalent in it.

It is not a sufficient preservative against this evil, that the circles of society in which you are engaged are not of a libertine and vicious kind. If they withdraw you from that attention to yourselves, and your domestic concerns, which becomes a good man, they are subversive of order, and inconsistent with your duty. What is innocent in itself, degenerates into crime from being carried to excess; and idle, trifling society is nearly a-kin to such as is corrupting. One of the first principles of order is, to learn to be
happy



happy at home. It is in domestic retreat that every wise and virtuous man finds his chief satisfaction. It is there he forms the plans which regulate his public conduct. He who knows not how to enjoy himself when alone, can never be long happy abroad. To his vacant mind, company may afford a temporary relief; but when forced to return to himself, he will be so much more oppressed and languid. Whereas, by a due mixture of public and private life, we keep free of the snares of both, and enjoy each to greater advantage.

When we review those different parts of behaviour to which I have shewn that order is essential, it must naturally occur to you, that they are all mutually connected, and hang upon each other. Throughout your affairs, your time, your expence, your amusements, your society, the principle of order must be equally carried, if you expect to reap any of its happy fruits. For if into any one of those great departments of life you suffer disorder to enter, it will spread through all the rest. In vain, for instance, you purpose to be orderly in the conduct of your affairs, if you be irregular in the distribution of your time. In vain you attempt to regulate your expence, if into your amusements, or your society, disorder has crept. You have admitted a principle of confusion which will defeat all your plans; and perplex and entangle what you sought to arrange. Uniformity is above all things necessary to order. If you desire that any thing should proceed according to method and rule, let all things, as the text exhorts, be done in order.



I must also admonish you, that in finall, as well as in great affairs, a due regard to order is requisite. I mean not that you ought to look on those minute attentions which are apt to occupy frivolous minds, as connected either with virtue or wisdom. But I exhort you to remember, that disorder, like other immoralities, frequently takes rise from inconsiderable beginnings. They who, in the lesser transactions of life, are totally negligent of rule, will be in hazard of extending that negligence by degrees to such affairs and duties as will render them criminal. Remissness grows on all who study not to guard against it; and it is only by frequent exercise that the habits of order and punctuality can be thoroughly confirmed.

From what has been said, the great importance of this principle to moral and religious conduct must already be evident. Let us, however, conclude with taking a summary view of the advantages which attend it.

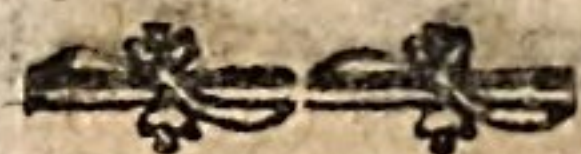
First, the observance of order serves to correct that negligence which makes you omit some duties, and that hurry and precipitancy which makes you perform others imperfectly. Your attention is thereby directed to its proper objects. You follow the straight path which Providence has pointed out to man; in the course of which all the different business of life presents itself regularly to him on every side. God and man, time and eternity, possess their proper stations, arise in succession to his view, and attract his care. Whereas he who runs on in a disorderly course, speedily involves himself in a labyrinth, where



where he is surrounded with intricacy and darkness. The crooked paths into which he strikes, turn him aside from the proper line of human pursuit; hide from his sight the objects which he ought chiefly to regard, and bring others under his view, which serve no purpose but to distract and mislead him.

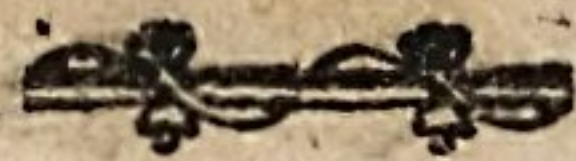
Next, by attending to order, you avoid idleness, that most fruitful source of crimes and evils. Acting upon a plan, meeting every thing in its own place, you constantly find innocent and useful employment for time. You are never at a loss how to dispose of your hours, or to fill up life agreeably. In the course of human action, there are two extremes equally dangerous to virtue; the multiplicity of affairs, and the total want of them. The man of order stands in the middle between these two extremes, and suffers from neither. He is occupied, but not oppressed. Whereas the disorderly, overloading one part of time, and leaving another vacant, are at one period overwhelmed with business, and at another, either idle through want of employment, or indolent through perplexity. Those seasons of indolence and idleness, which recur so often in their life, are their most dangerous moments. The mind, unhappy in its situation, and clinging to every object which can occupy or amuse it, is then aptest to throw itself into the arms of every vice and every folly.

Farther, by the preservation of order, you check inconstancy and levity. Fickle by nature is the human heart. It is fond of change; and perpetually tends to start aside from the straight line



of conduct. Hence arises the propriety of bringing ourselves under subjection to method and rule; which, though at first it may prove constraining, yet by degrees, and from the experience of its happy effects, becomes natural and agreeable. It rectifies those irregularities of temper and manners to which we give the name of caprice; and which are distinguishing characteristics of a disorderly mind. It is the parent of steadiness of conduct. It forms consistency of character. It is the ground of all the confidence we repose in one another. For, the disorderly we know not where to find. In him only can we place any trust who is uniform and regular; who lives by principle, not by humour; who acts upon a plan, and not by desultory motions.

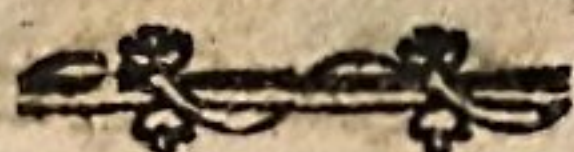
The advantages of order hitherto mentioned belong to rectitude of conduct. Consider also how important it is to your self-enjoyment and felicity. Order is the source of peace; and peace is the highest of all temporal blessings. Order is indeed the only region in which tranquillity dwells. The very mention of confusion imports disturbance and vexation. Is it possible for that man to be happy who cannot look into the state of his affairs, or the tenor of his conduct, without discerning all to be embroiled; who is either in the midst of remorse for what he has neglected to do, or in the midst of hurry to overtake what he finds, too late, was necessary to have been done? Such as live according to order may be compared to the celestial bodies which move in regular courses, and by stated laws; whose influence is beneficent; whose operations are quiet and tranquil. The disorderly resemble those tumultuous



multuous elements on earth which, by sudden and violent irruptions, disturb the course of nature. By mismanagement of affairs, by excess in expence, by irregularity in the indulgence of company and amusement, they are perpetually creating molestation both to themselves and others. They depart from their road to seek pleasure; and instead of it, they every where raise up sorrows. Being always found out of their proper place, they of course interfere and jar with others. The disorders which they raise never fail to spread beyond their own line, and to involve many in confusion and distress; whence they necessarily become the authors of tumult and contention, of discord and enmity. Whereas order is the foundation of union. It allows every man to carry on his own affairs without disturbing his neighbour. It is the golden chain which holds together the societies of men in friendship and peace.

In fine, the man of order is connected with all the higher powers and principles in the universe. He is the follower of God. He walks with him, and acts upon his plan. His character is formed on the spirit which religion breathes. For religion in general, and the religion of Christ in particular, may be called the great discipline of order. To walk sinfully, and to walk disorderly, are synonymous terms in Scripture. From such as walk disorderly we are commanded, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw ourselves *. The
g g 3 king.

* 2 Thess. iii. 6.



kingdom of Satan is the reign of disorder and darkness. To restore order among the works of God, was the end for which the Son of God descended to the earth. He requires order to be observed in his church. His undertaking is to be consummated in that perfect order which he shall introduce at the last day. In the new earth and the new heavens, undisturbed order shall for ever prevail among the spirits of the just made perfect; and whatever farther preparation may be requisite for our being admitted to join their society, it is certain that we shall never share in it, unless we make it now our study to do all things decently and in order.



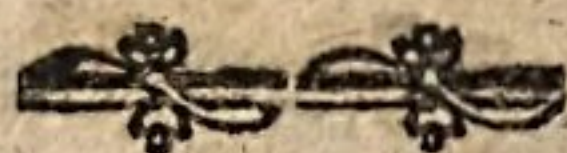


V. On the Character of Joseph.

A Sermon, by D. Hugh Blair.

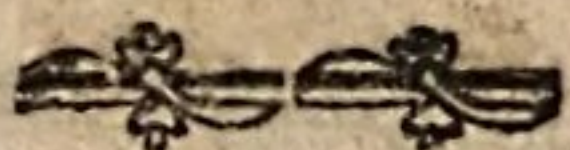
GENESIS XLV. 5. 8. Now therefore be not grieved nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life. — So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God.

IN this generous manner, Joseph frames an apology for the unnatural behaviour of his brethren. He extenuates the atrocity of their crime, by representing the happy effects which it had produced. He looks beyond all second causes; and recognizes, in the wonderful events of his life, the hand of the Almighty. — No human character exhibited in the records of Scripture is more remarkable, or instructive, than that of this patriarch. He is one whom we behold tried in all the vicissitudes of fortune; from the condition of a slave, rising to be ruler of the land of Egypt; and in every station acquiring, by his virtue and wisdom, favour with God and man. When overseer of Potiphar's house, his fidelity was proved by strong temptations, which he honourably resisted. When thrown into prison by the artifice of a false woman, his integrity and prudence soon rendered him conspicuous, even in that dark mansion. When called into the presence of Pharaoh, the wise and extensive plan which he formed for saving the kingdom from the miseries of impending famine, justly raised him to a high station, wherein his abilities were eminently displayed in the public service. But in his whole history there is no circumstance



cumstance so striking and interesting, as his behaviour to his brethren who had sold him into slavery. The moment in which he made himself known to them, that moment at which we are now to contemplate him, was the most critical one of his life, and the most decisive of his character. It is such as rarely occurs in the course of human events; and is calculated to draw the highest attention of all who are endowed with any degree of sensibility of heart. Let us consider the sentiment which Joseph utters in the text under two views, each of which is very instructive to all Christians. I. As a discovery of his cordial forgiveness of his brethren; and, II. as an instance of his dutiful attention to the Providence of God.

I. The most cordial forgiveness is here displayed. I shall not recapitulate all the preceding history respecting Joseph and his brethren; as it is well known by every one who has the least acquaintance with the sacred writings. From the whole tenour of the narration it appears, that though Joseph, upon the arrival of his brethren in Egypt, made himself strange to them, yet from the beginning he intended to discover himself; and studied so to conduct the discovery as might render the surprise of joy complete. For this end, by affected severity, he took measures for bringing down into Egypt all his father's children. They were now arrived there; and Benjamin amongst the rest, who was his younger brother by the same mother, and was particularly beloved by Joseph. Him he threatened to detain; and seemed willing to allow the rest to depart. This incident renewed their distress. They
all



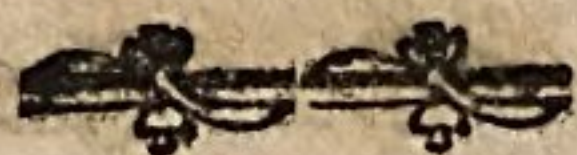
all knew their father's extreme anxiety about the safety of Benjamin, and with what difficulty he had yielded to his undertaking this journey. Should he be prevented from returning, they dreaded that grief would overpower the old man's spirits, and prove fatal to his life. Judah, therefore, who had particularly urged the necessity of Benjamin's accompanying his brothers, and had solemnly pledged himself to their father for his safe return, craved, upon this occasion, an audience of the governour; and gave him a full account of the circumstances of Jacob's family.

Nothing can be more interesting and pathetic than this discourse of Judah, as it is recorded in the preceding chapter. Little knowing to whom he spoke, he paints, in all the colours of simple and natural eloquence, the distressed situation of the aged patriarch, hastening to the close of life; long afflicted for the loss of a favourite son, whom he supposed to have been torn in pieces by a beast of prey; labouring now under anxious concern about his youngest son, the child of his old age, who alone was left alive of his mother, and whom nothing but the calamities of severe famine could have moved a tender father to send from home, and expose to the dangers of a foreign land. If we bring him not back with us, we shall bring down the grey hairs of thy servant our father, with sorrow, to the grave. I pray thee therefore let thy servant abide instead of the young man, a bondman to our lord. For how shall I go up to my father, and Benjamin not with me? lest I see the evil that shall come on my father.



Upon this relation, Joseph could no longer restrain himself. The tender ideas of his father and his father's house, of his ancient home, his country and his kindred, of the distress of his family, and his own exaltation, all rushed too strongly upon his mind to bear any farther concealment. He cried, cause every man to go out from me; and he wept aloud. The tears which he shed were not the tears of grief. They were the burst of affection. They were the effusions of a heart overflowing with all the tender sensibilities of nature. Formerly he had been moved in the same manner, when he first saw his brethren before him. „His bowels yearned upon them, he sought for a place where to weep. He went into his chamber; and then washed his face, and returned to them.” At that period his generous plans were not completed. But now, when there was no farther occasion for constraining himself, he gave free vent to the strong emotions of his heart. The first minister to the king of Egypt was not ashamed to show, that he felt as a man, and a brother. He wept aloud; and the Egyptians, and the house of Pharaoh heard him.

The first words which his swelling heart allowed him to pronounce, are the most suitable to such an affecting situation which were ever uttered. — I am Joseph; doth my father yet live? — What could he, what ought he, in that impassioned moment, to have said more? This is the voice of nature herself, speaking her own language; and it penetrates the heart: No pomp of expression; no parade of kindness; but strong affection hastening to utter what it strongly felt.



felt. His brethren could not answer him; for they were troubled at his presence. Their silence is as expressive of those emotions of repentance, and shame, which, on this amazing discovery, filled their breasts, and stopped their utterance, as the few words which Joseph speaks are expressive of the generous agitations which struggled for vent within him. No painter could seize a more striking moment for displaying the characteristical features of the human heart, than what is here presented. Never was there a situation of more tender and virtuous joy, on the one hand; nor, on the other, of more overwhelming confusion and conscious guilt. In the simple narration of the sacred historian, it is set before us with greater energy and higher effect, than if it had been wrought up with all the colouring of the most admired modern eloquence.

When Joseph had a little recovered himself from the first transports of emotion, he proceeds to explain his situation to his brethren, and to show them the beneficent purposes for which he conceived himself to be raised by Providence into power. The apology which he makes in the text for their former cruelty is uncommon and remarkable. Now therefore be not grieved nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me hither; for God did send me before you to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance. So now it was not you that sent me hither but God; and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and Lord of all his house, and a ruler throughout all the land of Egypt. This apology was, in truth, no satisfactory excuse for
their



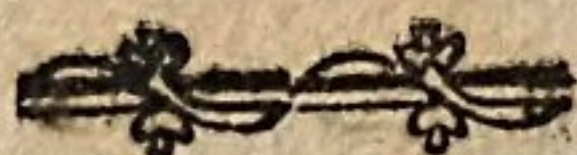
their crime. For though the over-ruling providence of Heaven had so directed the course of events, as to render their bad intentions subservient to a happy issue; yet the badness of the intention originated entirely from themselves. The envy and jealousy which they entertained against their brother, led them to the commission of an atrocious deed. The deed was voluntary; the crime was all their own; and the interposition of Providence in making unforeseen consequences follow from that crime, did not, could not, exculpate them from guilt. It were an impious conclusion, that because God extracts good from our evil, we are not answerable for the evil which we perpetrate. God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man *. But the sentiment in the text is to be considered, as a colour which the generous humanity of Joseph prompted him to throw on the conduct of his brethren. He saw the confusion with which they were overwhelmed in his presence. He diverts their attention from the remembrance of a crime which was now wringing their hearts with anguish, by representing to them the happy effects which that crime had produced. He sets them free from all uneasiness on his account. He calls upon them to rejoice in his prosperity; and instead of dwelling on a painful recollection of their own conduct, to join with him in acknowledging and adoring the hand of the Almighty.

How different is this amiable spirit which Joseph discovers, from that harsh and ostentatious



tious superiority which too often accompanies the pretended forgiveness of injuries, among those who call themselves Christians! They are ready to say that, for their part, they pardon the wrongs which have been done them; they wish that the persons who have committed them may be able to forgive themselves; they leave them to God and to their own conscience. By the severe suggestions which they throw out, they discover the inward bitterness of their spirit; and artfully gratify resentment, at the time when they profess to exercise forgiveness. Whereas the great and good man whose character we now consider, effaces all memory of the crimes which he pardons. He seeks to alleviate the remorse of his brethren by an extenuation of their guilt; and while he is preparing to make their circumstances comfortable, studies at the same time to render their minds easy and tranquil.

This was not merely a transient emotion with Joseph, owing to the first burst of affection on discovering himself to his brethren. We have a clear proof, from a remarkable transaction which passed many years after this period, of his disposition continuing the same to the end of life. It is recorded in the last chapter of this book, that when Jacob died, his sons began to be seized with fear concerning the treatment which they might receive from their brother. The guilty are always suspicious. Conscious of their own baseness, they are incapable of conceiving the magnanimity of others. They saw the bond which held the family together, now broken by their father's death. They dreaded that the resentment of Joseph against them had hitherto
been



been only suppressed, or concealed. They said among themselves, peradventure he will now hate us, and requite all the evil which we did unto him. Under this apprehension, they first sent a humble message to deprecate his displeasure by the memory of their common father; and then appearing in his presence, they fell down before his face, professing themselves to be his servants, and praying him to forgive the trespass which they had committed against him. But no such hidden resentment as they dreaded had ever lurked in the soul of Joseph. On the contrary, when he beheld his brethren in this affecting situation, bereaved of their ancient protector, and reduced, as they imagined, to the necessity of holding up their hands to him for mercy, he was overpowered by a tide of tender emotions. Joseph wept, while his brethren spake unto him. These affectionate tears alone were sufficient to have ensured their forgiveness. But hastening also by words to dispel their alarms, he presently added, Fear not; for though ye thought evil against me, God meant it unto good. Now therefore fear ye not; I will nourish you and your little ones. And he comforted them; and spake kindly unto them *.

Such was the last incident that is recorded in the life of this eminent personage, than whom you will find few more distinguished by an assemblage of illustrious virtues; in the lowest adversity, patient and faithful; in the highest prosperity,

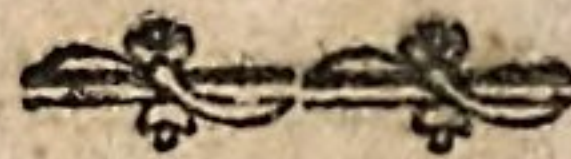
* Genes. L. 21.



rity, beneficent and generous; dutiful and affectionate, as a son; kind and forgiving, as a brother; accomplished, as a statesman; wise and provident, as a ruler of the land. In such a character you behold human nature possessing its highest honours. The sentiments which it inspires, tend to ennoble our minds; and to prevent their imbibing the spirit of those hard, interested, and self-seeking men with whom the world abounds.

The striking example of forgiveness, which the text displays, ought frequently to occur to our thoughts, amidst the various occasions of provocation and offence which arise in our intercourse with the world. If one so worthy and amiable, in the days too of his youth and innocence, suffered such cruel treatment from his brothers, ought we to be surprised if, even from our nearest relations, we meet with injustice or ingratitude? Wrongs and injuries are, more or less, the portion of all. Like Death, they are an evil unavoidable. No station is so high, no power so great, no character so unblemished, as to exempt us from them. In the world, ungrateful men, false friends, and violent enemies abound. Every wise man ought to prepare himself for what he is to encounter, in passing through this thorny region. He is not to expect that he can gather grapes from thistles; nor to lose the government of his mind, because, in the midst of evil men, he is not allowed to remain, like a sacred and inviolable person, untouched and uninjured.

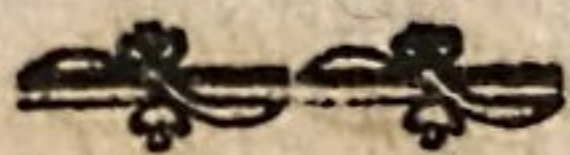
As this view of our situation ought to blunt the edge of passion and impatience, so the alleviating



viating circumstances which reason will suggest, ought to mollify resentment. Think of the various constructions which the actions of men will bear. Consider how different the motives of him who hath given us offence, may have been from those which in the heat of passion we ascribe to him; how apt all men are to be seduced by mistaken views of interest; and how little ground we have to complain if, upon a supposed interfering of interests, we suffer by others preferring their own to ours. Remember that no opinions which you form under the power of resentment can be depended upon as just; and that every one loads the intentions of his enemy with imaginary degrees of malice.

But admitting the injury you have received to be ever so atrocious in its nature, and aggravated in its circumstances; supposing it to be even parallel to that which Joseph suffered; look up, like him, to that divine government under which we are all placed. If forgiveness be a duty which we know God to have required under the most awful sanctions, dare we draw upon ourselves the merited vengeance of that superiour, to whose clemency we are obliged daily to fly? When, with hard and unrelenting dispositions towards our brethren, we send up to Heaven prayers for mercy to ourselves those prayers return like imprecations upon our heads; and our very devotions seal our condemnation.

The most plain and natural sentiments of equity concur with divine authority to enforce the duty which I now recommend. Let him who has never in his life done wrong, be allowed the
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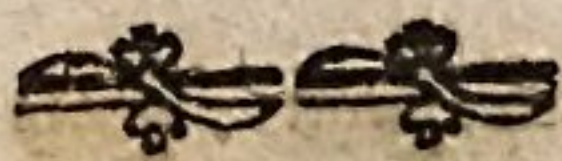
privilege of remaining inexorable. But let such as are conscious of frailties and crimes, consider forgiveness as a debt which they owe to others. Common failings are the strongest lesson of mutual forbearance. Were this virtue unknown among men, order and comfort, peace and repose would be strangers to human life. Injuries retaliated according to the exorbitant measure which passion prescribes, would justify resentment in return. The injured person would become the injurer; and thus wrongs, retaliations, and fresh injuries, would circulate in endless succession, till the world was rendered a field of blood. Of all the passions which invade the human breast, revenge is the most direful. When allowed to reign with full dominion, it is more than sufficient to poison the few pleasures which remain to man in his present state. How much soever a person may suffer from injustice, he is always in hazard of suffering more from the prosecution of revenge. The violence of an enemy cannot inflict what is equal to the torment he creates to himself, by means of the fierce and desperate passions which he allows to rage in his soul.

Those evil spirits who inhabit the regions of misery, are represented as delighting in revenge and cruelty. But all that is great and good in the universe, is on the side of clemency and mercy. The almighty Ruler of the world, though for ages offended by the unrighteousness, and insulted by the impiety of men, is long suffering and slow to anger. His Son, when he appeared in our nature, exhibited both in his life and his death, the most illustrious example of forgiveness

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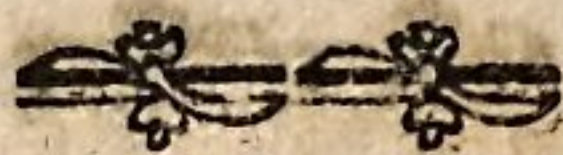


ness which the world ever beheld. If you look into the history of mankind, you will find that in every age, those who have been respected as worthy, or admired as great, have been distinguished for this virtue. Revenge dwells in little minds. A noble and magnanimous spirit is always superior to it. It suffers not from the injuries of men those severe shocks which others feel. Collected within itself, it stands unmoved by their impotent assaults; and with generous pity, rather than with anger, looks down on their unworthy conduct. It has been truly said, that the greatest man on earth can no sooner commit an injury, than a good man can make himself greater, by forgiving it. Joseph, at the moment when we now contemplate him, had entirely under his power all those unnatural brethren who had been guilty towards him of the most cruel outrage which men could perpetrate. He could have retained them for ever in that Egyptian bondage to which they had once consigned him; and have gratified revenge by every accumulation of disgrace which despotic power enabled him to inflict. Had he acted this part, he might for a while have been soothed by the pleasures of his high station. But remorse, in the end, would have stung his soul. Cruelty would have rendered him unhappy within himself, as well as odious to others: And his name would have perished among the crowd of those contemptible statesmen, whose actions stain the annals of history. Whereas now, his character stands among the foremost in the ranks of spotless fame. His memory is blessed to all generations. His example continues to edify the world; and he himself shines in the celestial regions as the bright-



brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever. Let us now,

II. Consider the sentiment contained in the text, not only as a discovery of cordial forgiveness, but as an expression of devout attention to the conduct of Providence. So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God. Remark how beautifully piety and humanity are, in this instance, connected together. As we are told of Cornelius, the good Centurion, that his prayers and his alms, his devotion and his good works, came up together in memorial before God; so here we perceive fraternal affection and religious reverence, mingling in one emotion within the patriarch's heart. In a person of low and vulgar mind, the sensations on such an occasion would have been extremely different. Looking back on the past events of his life, he would have ascribed all the adversity which he had suffered, to the perverse treatment of his brothers; and all the prosperity which he afterwards attained, to his own good conduct and wisdom; and by consequence would have remained embittered against the instruments of the one, and filled with pride and self-sufficiency on account of the other. But the elevated and noble mind of Joseph rejected such unworthy sentiments. Contemplating the hand of God in all that had befallen him, he effaced the remembrance of those evil deeds which had produced his adversity; and for his prosperity he affected no praise to himself, but ascribed it entirely to the will of Heaven. Let us take notice that this is not the reflection of a private, retired man; whose situation might be supposed to favour such devout meditations. It is the re-



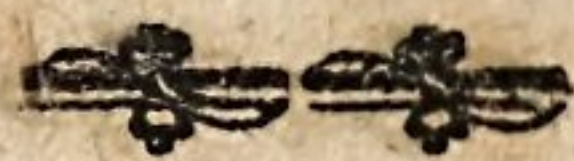
lection of one, who was leading a busy and a seducing life, in the midst of a court; the favourite of the greatest monarch who was then known in the world. Yet him you behold, amidst the submission and adulation which was paid to him, preserving the moderation and simplicity of a virtuous mind; and amidst the idolatry and false philosophy of the Egyptians, maintaining the principles of true religion, and giving glory to the God of Israel.

From this union of piety with humanity, which is so conspicuous in the sentiments of Joseph, there arises one very important instruction; that a devout regard to the hand of God in the various events of life tends to promote good dispositions and affections towards men. It will be found by those who attend to the workings of human nature, that a great proportion of those malignant passions which break out in the intercourse of men, arises from confining their attention wholly to second causes, and overlooking the first cause of all. Hence, they are insolent in prosperity, because they discern nothing higher than their own abilities; and in adversity they are peevish and unforgiving, because they have no object on which to fix their view, but the conduct of men who have acted as their enemies. They behold no plan of wisdom or goodness carried on throughout nature, which can allay the discomposure of their mind. As soon as their temper is ruffled, the world appears to them to be a continued scene of disasters and injuries, of confused events and of unreasonable men. Whereas to the pious man, the contemplation of the universe exhibits a very different spectacle. In the midst
of



of seeming confusion he traces a principle of order; and by attention to that order, his mind is harmonized and calmed. He beholds a wise and righteous Governour presiding over all the commotions which are raised by the tumult of conflicting passions and interests; guiding, with imperceptible influence, the hand of the violent to beneficent purposes; accomplishing unexpected ends by the most improbable means; obliging the wrath of man to praise him; sometimes humbling the mighty, sometimes exalting the low; often snaring the wicked in the devices which their hands have wrought. Respectful acknowledgment of this divine government, controuls the disorders of inferior passions. Reverence for the decrees of Heaven inspires patience and moderation. Trust in that perfect wisdom and goodness which directs all for the best, diminishes the shock which worldly disasters occasion. The irritation of passion and resentment, will always bear proportion to the agitation which we suffer from the changes of fortune. One who connects himself with nothing but second causes, partakes of the violence and irregularity of all the inferior movements belonging to this great machine. He who refers all to God, dwells, if we may speak so, in that higher sphere where motion begins; he is subject to fewer shocks and concussions, and is only carried along by the motion of the universe.

How can mildness or forgiveness gain place in the temper of that man who, on occasion of every calamity which he suffers from the ill usage of others, has no sanctuary within his own breast to which he can make retreat from their vexations;



who is possessed of no principle which is of sufficient power to bear down the rising tide of peevish and angry passions? The violence of an enemy, or the ingratitude of a friend, the injustice of one man, and the treachery of another, perpetually dwell and rankle in his thoughts. The part which they have acted in bringing on his distress, is frequently more grating to him than the distress itself. Whereas he who in every event looks up to God, has always in his view a great and elevating object, which inspires him with magnanimity. His mind lies open to every relieving thought, and is inclined to every suggestion of generosity. He is disposed to say with Joseph, it was not you that sent me hither, but God; with David, it is the Lord; let him do what seemeth good in his eyes; and with a greater personage than either of these, the cup which my Father hath given me to drink, shall I not drink it? Hence arises superiority to many of the ordinary provocations of the world. For he looks upon the whole of his present life as part of a great plan, which is carried on under the direction of Heaven. In this plan, he views men as acting their several parts, and contributing to his good or evil. But their parts he considers as subordinate ones; which, though they may justly merit his affection, and may occasionally call forth his resentment, yet afford no proper foundation to violent or malignant passion. He looks upon bad men as only the rod with which the Almighty chastens; like the pestilence, the earthquake, or the storm. In the midst of their injustice and violence he can pity their blindness; and imitate our blessed Lord in praying, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.

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